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BOSTON.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1838.

SIVER JOHNSON, EDITOR PRO TEM.

THE BALLOT-BOX A REMEDY FOR TIONAL CRIMES!—DR. BEECH-S SERMON ON DUELING AP-MED TO SLAVERY.

the Liberator of the 20th ult., we published the of a Discourse, entitled, 'The Remedy for Dueleached before the Presbytery of Long Island, 16, 1896-more than 32 years ago-by Rev. Dr. We men expressed an intention of making libracts from it, for the purpose of applying its powuments and illustrations to the case of slavery. now proceed to satisfy the expectations thus and in doing so, we shall take the liberty of out the word ducling and its correlative terms s, and of inserting in their place, the words, ischolders, &c. as the case may require. The serted by us will be enclosed in [] so that no unbute their use to Dr. Beecher. We shall morantiate heads to the several extracts which

applied to the case of slavery, let the reader For our own part, we think they apply with force; especially when it is considered, that the of dueling arrocious as it is, is one of the LE-MATE FRUITS and APPENDAGES of slavery roctimes, in this country at least, stand coned with each other as cause and effect; and both are the 'peculiar institutions' of the south. It is operating in the mind of the slaveholder to deall reverence for liberty as a principle, undermin is regard for the sacredness of human life, and ing a spirit of unmingled selfishness, a contempt rights, an impatience of moral restraints, and yranny and domination, out of which dueling naturally as weeds spring up in an uncultiinlen. That such is the case, we have evidence act, that the practice of dueling recedes just in as freedom advances and the true doctrine ghts is carried out in the practice of the peoof which is really the code of MURDER,) were at the north : but they were thrown off when lappeared from among us. Since the spirit has again become rife in our midst, and a has been manifested to relinquish the rights ies of the north to protect the 'domestic instiof the south-to lay the liberty of the press and on of speech, a smoking sacrifice upon the har of southern despotism-there has been authern representative in Congress, a son of and who could so far forget his obligations y his country and his God, as to risk his an attempt to take that of another. We the blood of Cilley, and to his living MUR. and to the blood of all who have thus 'died deth, as illustrations of the corrupting inof SLAVERY. Who that knows enough of nature to trace effects to their appropriate cause, he a moment doubt, that if slavery had been conin the free States until the present moment, the ous system of dueling would also have prevailed lives as? Or that, if the south had abolished slavery, and would have ceased? As Dr. Beecher truly there is a relationship in crimes, which renders marry with one a harbinger to familiarity with another and never was this relationship more clearly man-list than in the two crimes of dueling and slaveholding. Safely, then, if Dr. Beacher's argument is sound-if is right and proper for us to put down dueling by a resen to the ballot-box-much more have we a right, and much more it is our duty, thus to put down its pro ment-SLAVERY. If we may thus demolish one of the branches of the tree of despotism, who shall forbid we to tay the well-sharpened axe at its ROOT ? If to for duelists, is a practice in direct opposition to he precepts of the christian religion,' what a during of-OTH DUELISTS AND SLAVEHOLDERS? e, a min combining in himself both these characters, who is besides a notorious GAMBLER and PRO-FANE SWEARER, has been toasted by Rev. Hubhad Winslow, an 'evangelical' clergyman of Boston, and the successor of Dr. Beecher, as 'WORTHY TO

harrible! How appropriate is the scathing and ter-Thic language of Pollow: prince, or magistrate, however named, spince, or magistrate, however named, praised, who, knowing better, acted thus, swicked, and received, as he deserved, antion. But the uspairment praises, what tongue was that exercise?

and that should sufficiently accurse, it received. ate such reprobate, had need

BE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!"

ne glowing from the lips of eldest hell.' We cannot forbear to repeat the substance of a forber remark, viz: that we consider it peculiarly fortuatio at this important crisis, when an effort is about a be made to ladure the friends of impartial liberty to themselves of their right of suffrage to overthrow slavery in the District of Columbia, to prevent its further tleasion, and to annihilate the odious traffic in human and wherever it is carried on under the authority of regress-when the propriety of resorting to this powlastru nentality is doubted by many of the wellatting, though timid friends of our cause -and when its, in some quarters, are endeavoring to initially us by their false accusations in such cirwe say, we consider it peculiarly fortunate that we have found so able a champion of our rights and so clear and powerful an expounder of our political du-



VOL. VIII.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

MO. 31.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1838.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSBTTS.

ave so much weight with a large portion of the people creed, what is his past conformity to your wish-

ophistries and inconsistencies, to take due notice of the hour of trial.

e proceeds to ask and answer

AN IMPORTANT CUESTICN.

But it will be demanded, 'how can the people prevent [slaveholding]? By withholding your uffrage from every man [who is a slaveholder.] or who has been directly or indirectly concerned in [slaveholding;](1) and by intrusting to men f fair moral character, and moral principle, the making and execution of your laws.

OBJECT OF THE DISCOURSE.

slaveholding.]

REQUIREMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY. The elevation of [slaveholders] to power, is a

he christian religion. * * * * The character of rulers, God has himself prescribed. They nust be just men. Such as fear God-a terror Do [slaveholders] answer to this description?

Are they just men? Do they fear God? Look law of [slavery.] It constitutes the his own sentence. Its precepts, like those of Draco, are written in blood. Death, or expo-Death, or expo- it nothing. sure to it is its lightest penalty; and this, with unrelenting severity, is inflicted for the most as upon the guilty.

No plea of reverence for God, of respect for of anger, actual friendship, affection to parents, all consequences are disregarded. * * * 11 subjects of a law so impious, so unmerciful and superintend the affairs of the nation. unjust. God bath denounced as unfit to govern MEN DESTITUTE OF PRINCIPLE NOT TO BE TRUSTED. men. They are disfranchised by heaven. face of heaven, and turn judgment away backward? Shall we snatch from the dungeon and gallows the victims of justice, to invest them with power, and adorn them with dignity and been common murder, an act of robbery or per-

THE PUBLIC SAFETY.

The honor of a [slaveholding] legislator does evate murderers, and who will be the avengers not restrain him in the least from innumerable of blood? crimes, which affect the peace of society. He may contemn the Saviour of men, and hate and oppose the religion of his country. He may be Julian in bitterness, and by swearing cause the earth to mourn: in passion a whirlwind; in ruelty to tenants, to servants, and to his family, a tiger. He may be a gambler, a prodigal, a ornicator, an adulterer, a drunkard, a murderer, and not violate the laws of [slavery.] Nay, [slavery] not only tolerates crime, but in many instances it is the direct and only temptation to

PARTY POLITICS NOTHING-MORAL PRINCIPLE

EVERY THING.

I know it is said, that a man's principles and his private character are nothing to us. If his answer the purpose. Every man conforming ability be adequate, and his politics correct, and his public conduct as yet irreproachable, this is peaceable enjoyment of life and all its immunihis public conduct as yet irreproachable, this is sufficient. But are you prepared to be the dupes of such wild absurdity? According to or indirectly to interrupt this enjoyment. * this sentiment, a man may set his mouth against the heavens—he may be a drunkard in the in- in theory, they might excite our compassion as tervals of official duty, a prodigal, a tyrant, a mere savage in his family, and still be trumpeted by unprincipled politicians and electioneering hand-bills, as the great champion of liberty, the very Atlas on whose shoulders rests the destiny of his country. (2) But what is a man's political

(1) The reader will perceive at once, that this doctrine, and all the subsequent reasonings upon it, will is too generally overlooked. Of all the crimes which apply with equal force against all, whether actual have blackened the pages of history, no one is more

New England,—as the Rev. Dr. Bedener.

To prevent all possibility of mistake, and to repel, in a similar vance, the charge of garbling, which, in a similar case, was brought against another individual, we repeat, with moral principle and private virtue, and all and callup on the whole tribe of 'false accusers,' who is gone. You can find no substitute; honor is nay see in the following extracts an exposure of their a cobweb, and patriotism an empty name in the act—that the sermon, as preached by Dr. Beechet, was interest of the [slaveholder] will not come in pplied to the case of ducling—that the word slavehold competition with your interest, is your only seagand its correlative terms and phrases as they appear curity that, if able, he will not sport with your in [] were inserted by us, and that we alone are respon-sible for this application of the Doctor's arguments is prepared to sport with, the [liberty] of his The heads which appear over the several paragraphs are neighbor. Admit, that there are instances, in also ours. The Doctor's text is in Isaiah lix. 14.15— And judg- integrity in public stations; can you tell me how nent is turned away backward, and justice standeth a many thousands have betrayed their trust for ar off; for truth is fallen in the street, and equity can- want of it? These are exempt cases-the perot enter. After speaking of the great criminality of sons did not happen to be tempted. But do the people of Israel at the time these words were uttered, you desire no better pledge of rectitude than Will you and comparing it with that of the people of this country, the mere absence of temptation? Will you is evinced by the practice of dueling, [slaveholding] confide in this ves and swindlers to legislate, because two in a thousand, though utterly unprincipled, may have found it for their interest not to cheat you? It is in trying emergencies. when the price of perfidy is high, and temptation imperious, that unprincipled men are weighed in the balance and found wanting. And will you appoint cowards and traitors mand your armies, because they might answer in time of peace; or intrust your lives to quacks in medicine, because under slight indispositions, they might suffice to administer herb-drink? It will therefore be the object of this discourse. Why does this lingering confidence in the suggest and illustrate the reasons which [slaveholder] still survive the extinction of morshould induce every man to withhold his vote al principle? One crime of equal magnitude from any person who [is a slaveholder.] or who in any other case, would decide his fate forever. has been directly or indirectly concerned in The failing merchant, convicted of dishonesty, is recorded a knave; the receipt of a bribe by a judge, is irrevocable infamy; perjury cancels forever all confidence; the thief solicits in vain practice in direct opposition to the precepts of the public suffrage; the highway robber can he christian religion. * * * * The character find none to exercise charity, none to public live, would be doomed to linger out a life of diso evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. gusting infamy. But the [slaveholder,] who in cold blood, or with bitter malice and burning rage [strikes down the liberties of] his neighbor, can find enough to exercise charity and party judge in his own cause, and executor of palliate his crime: a whole state, a whole nation, to testify by their votes that they consider

PECULIAR EDUCATION NO EXCUSE. But alas! the [slaveholder,] frail man, is trifling offence, as well as for the most enormous overcome by temptation. He has peculiar senrime; and as often perhaps upon the innocent, sibilities, habits of education, and modes of thinking, which in this one case led him astray, without inferring at all a general deficiency human law, of conscience, of innocency, absence ciple, religious or moral. In plain language, of anger, actual friendship, affection to parents, because the [slavcholder] is educated a [slavewife or children, the hope of heaven or fear of holder.] the crime of [man-stading] in him is hell, is for one moment admitted. All obligations are cancelled; all ties are burst asunder; moral principle. If men, then, are only educated to thieving, assassination and robbery-if. is a law which inculcates no virtue, and which by habit and false reasoning, they are so familprohibits no crime, if it be honorably comm tted. jarised to crime as to rob, and steal, and destroy It tolerates adultery, blasphemy, intemperance, life without much consciousness of guilt, then, revenge and murder. * * * The obedient indeed, they are very honest men, and are fit to

But were it admitted-did we even know * Shall we then dare to rise up in the that some one [slaveholder] was in fact a man of principle, and overcome by stress of temptajury, though you knew he had been surprised A regard to the public safety, as well as respect to the authority of God, and an abhorrence at least too feeble and flexible to stand before of murder, should withhold the suffrage of the the numerous and powerful temptations to community from the [slaveholder.] When we intrust life and liberty and property in the hands of men, we desire some pledge of their fidelity. of men, we desire some pledge of their bachty, coward should not be intrusted with the com-But what pledge can the [slaveholder] give? His religious principle is nothing—his moral principle is nothing. His honor is our only se-curity. But is this sufficient? Are the temp-tations of power so feeble, is the public and pri-tations of power so feeble, is the public and pri-tations of power so feeble, are the constraint. vate interest so inseparacle, are the opportuni- weakens that abhorrence of crime, which is the ties of fraud so few, that amid the projects of guardian of public morality. (3) Elevate swin-ambition, the cravings of avarice, and the condicts of party, there is no need of conscience to tegrity of the common people! Elevate adulguarantee the integrity of rulers? * * * terers, and who will punish incontinence? El-

SLAVERY A SYSTEM OF DESPOTISM.

The system of [slavery] is a system of despotism, tending directly and powerfully to the destruction of civil liberty. A free government is a government of laws made by the people for the protection of life, reputation, and property. A despotic government is where life and all its blessings are subject to the caprice of an indi-vidual. Those maxims and practices, therefore, which remove life, reputation, and property, from under the protection of law, and subject them to the caprice of an individual, are the es sence of despotism. Nor is it material whether this is done by open violence, or by the application of unlawful motives which as effectually ies. Nor has any individual a right, directly lowing tonst, which was drunk at Philadelphia on the

on the 4th of July:

'Henry Clay: The apostle of American liberty, the champion of human rights—always first in the charge, the last in the retreat. His long services, undeviating principles, and noble self-sacrifice, demand the highest civic honors his country can bestow.'

(3) Here is a truth of the highest importance, which slaveholders or not, who countenance the system or atrocious or heaven-during, than that of holding and conive at its iniquities, or who refuse to wield the treating the image of God as property! And yet how moral and political power placed in their hands for its 'lightly' is it possed over! and how little is thought of overthrow. The non-slaveholding representative in it! Alas! what havoc has slavery made with the con-Congress, who votes against the right of petition and the freedom of debate, er reiuses to plead the cause of fice, of men who are guilty of this crime, and admittimpartial justice, and suffers the fundamental principles of the Constitution to be madly trampled under well nigh 'confounded in the public mind' all 'distincfoot, without raising his voice and exerting his influence tions between virtue and vice; and unless the eyes of in their defence, is to the slaveholder what the second the people are speedily opened, there is too much reain a duel is to his principal. He is both 'directly' and son to fear that they will be left of God to 'wax worse 'indirectly concerned' in sustaining the system; and and worse,' until at length, when the measure of their iniquity shall be full, a fate more creadful than that of (2) Yes, and be toasted too, by a Boston clorgyman, Egypt or Tyre will overtake them! Shall we continue as 'worthy to be President of the United States!'—As to provoke the judgments of heaven by countenancing an illustration of the manner in which such characters as the Dr. describes are 'trumpeted by unprinci-pled politicians,' as 'champions of liberty,' rthe ead fol-numbed sensibilities of the people? God forbid.

mere distempers of the brain; but their practical the people, and receive their suffrages, and b influence is powerful and fatal, as inimical to made the guardians of civil liberty?
our rights in fact, as it is in theory; tending dictly and powerfully to the destruction of civil

dication of our [domestic institutions,] or protect he wretch who shall presume to impeach them.'

PICULIAR SENSIBILITIES OF SLAVEHOLDERS. Bu education, it is said, has inspired these for which the cold process of law has made no provision. So has the education of the savage given him peculiar feelings, for the gratification of which, the dilatory forms of law are equally inadequate. But will you let the savage loose with tomahawk and scalping knife, because educational feelings can find no consolation in the PUBLIC SENTIMENT-THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBL regular administration of justice? The feelings for which the law makes no provision, are feelings for which it ought not to provide—ungodly sentiment. The highway robber need not public sentiment. the gallows, and not to posts of honor.

The administration of justice ought, above all but do not sufficiently above the crime; they hings, to be impartial. The rich and the hon-brable ought to be equally liable to punishment holders] are apprised of this debilitated state of their desert, punished with equal severity. But while [slaveholders] bear sway, this can ver be. It is a fact, that the man who steals a shilling is more liable to detection, and more sure to be punished, than the man who [steals human beings.] Is this equal? Shall petty thests excite indignation and be punished with severity, while [men-stealers] with bold impuniwalk on every side ?

STAVERY INSPIRES CONTEMPT FOR LAW.

ertion as obedience ceases to be voluntary, and We must have protection; and the more numer - -ail fear of pecuniary loss-all fear of disgrace must be delegated to subdue and control them. courage, and avenge yourself; it shall be PERNICIOUS EXAMPLE OF SLAVEHOLDING LEG-

rnment of a republic, there is no such distance ing] is a passport to honor. tween the rulers and the ruled, and no such CONTEMPT FOR THE PEOPLE - HYPOCRITICAL PRO errific restraints to deter from the imitation of heir example. To elevate to office, therefore, ntenn the religion and despise the laws of ions and wishes demand respect from the

OF THE PRESS.

ip that shall publish his infamy.

ENCROACHMENTS OF SLAVEHOLDERS ALARMING. Mor let any imagine that the findence of the plead for flowly with the leady, and is every year becoming more so, as sally and increases; and God only knows sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. where its influence will end. The actual enroachments of Britain, when we first began to resist them, were not one half so alarming as the encroachments of [slaveholders.] * * * * And shall lawless despots at this day perform what all the fleets and armies of England could not? * * * * If the road to Washington was beset with robbers—if they sacrificed yearly as many as are now slain [by slaveholders,] could the wretches live unmolested? Their crimes notorious, could they mingle in society? Could they boast of their prowess, and glory in their shame? Could they enjoy the confidence of capacity. not? * * * * If the road to Washington was

GLARING INCONSISTENCY. The inconsistency of voting for [slaveholders]

QUAL LAWS UNSATISFACTORY TO SLAVEHOLDERS. is glaring. To profess attachment to liberty, and vote for men whose principles and whose Equal laws are essential to civil liberty; but practices are alike hostile to liberty-to contend wal laws are far from satisfying the elevated for equal laws, and clothe with power those laims of [slaveholders.] That protection which he law affords to them in common with others, their execution to men who are the first to break the law affords to them in common with others, their execution to men who are the first to break they despise. They must have more—a right to decide upon, and to redress their own griev-temporal ances. When we please, '(say they.) 'we will ances. When we please,' (say they.) 'we will ourselves of the law; and when we please, store to the sweets of society, and embraces of we will legislate for ourselves. For the vulgar, their more innocent victims. Be concluded the same of the sweets of society, and embraces of charity, their more innocent victims. the dull forms of law may suffice; but for a sistent. If you tolerate one set of villians, tol system] so sacred, and for feelings so refined erate them all; if [slaveholding] does not stagand sensitive as ours, they are vastly inadequate. ger your confidence, let it not waver at inferior Nor shall they restrain our hand from the vin- crimes.

HYPOCRITICAL PRAYERS. In our prayers, we request that God would Is this liberty and equality? Are these gentlemen, indeed, so greatly superior to the people? in the fear of God. But by voting for [slavetheir [system] so much more important? holders] we demonstrate the insincerity of such Are their [system] so much more important? Are their feelings so much more sacred? Is pain nore painful to them, or self-government is left to our choice whom we will have, we less their duty than ours? Must we bear all vote for murderers. Unless therefore, we would njuries which the law cannot redress? Must continue to mock God by hypocritical prayers, we sife our resentments, or, if we vent them in acts of murder, swing upon the gallows; while they with impunity express their indignations of the preservation of liberty, and tion, and satiate with blood a revengeful spirit? the continuance of national prosperity? And do we not know that good rulers are the chosen instruments of the divine blessing; and that nen with sensibilities peculiar to themselves, when God would chastise a people, unprincipled rulers are the rod of his anger? When therefore, the selection of rulers is left to ourselves, shall we disregard his chosen instruments of mercy, and expect his blessing? Shall we put into his hand the rod of his anger, and expect

clings - he haughtiness of pride and relentless lish his daring exploits in a newspaper to attract evenge, and which, instead of a dispensation notice. A common indignation glows in the for indulgance, deserve the chastisement of scor- public mind-in all directions the son of viopions. To reduce such unruly spirits, the law lence is pursued, and when arrested and conshould brandish its glittering sword, and utter victed, is sure to die. * * * The great offiall its thurders. * * * * If they will not take the trouble to govern their temper—if they will not encounter that self-denial which the laws of crime. The public indignation, like a high God and nan inculcate—if they will be savages swollen river, would sweep away any one who in a civilized land, let them be treated as sava- should presume to turn aside, or obstruct its And when they [rob,] elevate them to course. But the frequency of the crime [of slaveholding] and its immemorial impunity has their crimes with the poor; and, according public feeling, and are therefore not afraid to contravene the feeble public will. It is not a torrent, unmanageable and dreadful, but a puny stream which they dare to oppose, and which they have learned to manage. * * We blame they have learned to manage. our rulers, but by whom are such men made rulers, and by whose negligence are they em boldened to wink at this most accursed sin? * The traitor is in the citadel; we have our selves put him there, knowing also that he would let the criminal go; of course, we are accessary to his escape and to the prostration of A sacred regard to law is indispensable to justice, as really as if with our own hands we the existence of a mild government. In pro-Indeed, by removing the only restraints the contempt of law becomes common, must the nerves of government be strengthened until it becomes in essence, if not in name, a monarchy. ous and daring the enemy, the more power We say to the aspiring politician, 'be of good That contempt of law, therefore, which is manifested by the [slaveholder,] is a blow at the vitals of liberty. It is the more deadly, because, your fellow men, we shall be glad; but if you from the genius of our government, the example do please to [rob] them, it shall not have the has a peculiar influence. By removing, in this way, all restraints from ISLATORS.

In despotic governments the example of the though indirectly, yet really and effectually, as gislator may not be so pernicious. Chains, if we rewarded the culprit from the public treasngeons, racks and gibbets, may keep the peo. ury. Nay, by elevating to important stations le in their place, although their rulers should men whose hands are stained with blood, we ive themselves a license to sin. Viewed also do little less than reward them for their crimes t such an abject distance, the example loses and it has been asserted, and by men long con nuch of its power. But under the mild gov- versant in the affairs of state, that [slavehold-

slaveholders,] the deliberate contemners of law, the opinions and feelings of the community, is to place their example in the most conspicu- a reason why we should cease to confide ous point of view, and to clothe it with most them. The people, whatever men of honor woful efficacy to destroy public virtue. Select may think of them, constitute the strength, the or your rulers men of profligate example, who virtue, and glory of the nation; and their opin heir country, and they need not conspire to in- legislate for them. But little do [slaveholders] roduce despotism; you will yourselves intro- care for our opinions or our feelings. They move uce it-you will flee to it, as the damned will in a sphere too much above us, to let themselve flee in the day of jndgment to rocks and moun- down to the standard of our conceptions, or to tains, to shield you from the operation of more give themselves concern about our desires or intolerable evils. LAVERY IMPAIRS THE LIBERTY OF SPEECH AND when they need our votes to gratify their ambi tion, or satiate their avarice, then indeed they The tendency of [slavery] to restrain liberty sympathise most tenderly with the people. of speech and of the press, is also direct and people are every thing; their wishes are sacred, and their voice is the voice of God. But let this end be accomplished, and neither liberty, harrester of condictors for effective the conduct of rulers, and to scrutinize the character of candidates for office; and as the private and moral character of a man is the ruest index, it becomes them to be particular deeds the most barbarous and despotic. Shall on this point. But who will speak on this sub- we then vote for men who treat with contempt ect, who will publish, when the [slaveholder] our opinions and our feelings, who basely prostands before him with pistol at the breast? While bent upon promotion, and desperate in stow; and who again creep through all the is course, he is prepared to seal in death the dirty windings of hypocrisy, when their promotion depends on our will? What are their professions of patriotism, contradicted by their conduct? And shall they deceive us still? Nor let any imagine that the influence of this Let them plead for liberty with the tongue of

(More next week.)

CONGRESS.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. ADAMS' SPEECH. (Continued.)

FRIDAY, JULY 6, 1838. Mr. Adams said that, at the expiration of the morning hour the day before, he had been dis-

cussing the conduct of this Government towards
Mexico from the commencement of the last Administration to the present time; and was laying down the position that that conduct would ve been the very same had the object been to practise a systematic course of fraudulent policy towards that Government, worthy of a Tiberius C.Esar or Ferdinand of Arragon. In order to expose that ferminant of the fermina expose that fraud most fully to the country, which has a right to know and to understand it aright, the printing of the voluminous documents that had accompanied the Message of the President on the subject of our Mexican relations, and which lie on the table, would be necessary.

But it had been refused by a vote of the House.* Still Mr. A. presumed that this would not inhibit him from using those papers as matters of reference; and between this time, and the next session of Congress, (when this part of the sub-ject, he hoped, would be freely and fully dis-cussed,) he should prepare himself to prove the assertion he had made with regard to the conduct of the Government towards Mexico, by the evidence which such a reference would afford. At present, he should merely touch upon this part of the subject in a general way.

He had stated, the day before, that before the

United States acknowledged the independence of the Mexican Republic, a proposal was made by them to the Government of the United States through the agency of Mr. Torrens, then Charge d' Affairs from the Republic of Columbia, the independence of which had been previously recog-nised by Mr. Monroe, that 'the limits' between nised by Mr. Monroe, that 'the limits between the two countries be fixed according to the 3d article of the trenty of Washington, of the 22d of February, 1819, between the United States and Spain, drawing the line and establishing the lundmarks, by commissioners appointed by both Governments, in the same manner as was provided by the 4th article of the said treaty.'
The note of Mr. Torrens containing this proposal, dated the 15th of February, 1824, is among the papers communicated to this House at the special session of Congress, last October, in the document No. 42. Whether any immediate answer was given to the note of Mr. Torrens does not appear in the document, and is not within my recollection. The answer to the note, if any was given, may be among the voluminous mass of papers just now communicated, and lying on the table, or it may be among the archives of the Department of State.

It would be recollected by members of that House that, on account of impending difficulties there had not been an American Minister to Mexico for two or three years after the acknowledgement of the independence of that Republic. Two attempts were made to make such an appointment; neither of which was successful. The first person selected to fill that station was General Andrew Jackson, who did not accept the appointment. The second was Ninian Edwards, who accepted it, but was prevented, by circumstances within the memory of us all, from entering upon the discharge of its duties. A year or more elapsed, after the note of Mr. Torrens, and there was yet no minister to Mexico. At length Mr. Poinsett was sent thither. Amorg the documents laid upon the tables of members of that House, there was a letter of instructions from the Secretary of State, dated March 26, 1825, to Mr. Poinsett, containing a reference to this question of the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. It begins with a copy of the treaty defining that line, and says that that part of the treaty remained to be executed, after the recognition of Mexican independence. And in the same letter there was the

following paragraph: 'Some difficulties may possibly hereafter arise be-tween the two countries from the line thus agreed upon against which it would be desirable now to guard, if practicable; and as the Government of Mexico may be practicable; and as the Government of Mexico may be supposed not to have any disinclination to the fixation of a new line, which would prevent those difficulties, the President wishes you to sound it on that sudject, and to avail yourself of a favorable disposition, if you should find it, to effect that object. The line of the Sabine approaches our great Western mart nearer than could be wished. Perhaps the Mexican Government may not be unwilling to establish that of the Rio Brassos de Dios, or the Rio Colorado, or the Snow mountains, or the Rio del Norte, in lieu of it. By the agreed line, portions of both the Red river and branches of the Arkansas are thrown on the Mexican side, and the navigation of both those rivers, as well as that of the Sabine is made common to the respective inhabitants of the two countries. When the countries alignent to those waters shall come to be thickly inhabited, collisions and waters shall come to be thickly inhabited, collisions and misunderstandings may arise from the community thus established, in the use of their navigation, which it would be well now to prevent. If the line were so altered as to throw altogether on one side Red river and Arkansas, and their respective tributary streams, and the line on the Sabine were removed further west, all causes of future collision would be prevented. The Government of Mexico may have a motive for such an alteration of the line as is here proposed, in the fact that it would have the effect of placing the city of Mexico nearer the centre of its territories. If the line were so changed, the greater part, if not the whole, of the powerful, warlike and turbulent Indian nation of the Camanches would be thrown on the side of the United States; and as an equivalent for the proposed cession of territory, they would stipulate to restrain, as far as practicable, the Camanches from committing hostilities and depredations upon the territories and people, whether Indians or otherwise, of Mexico.' waters shall come to be thickly inhabited, collision

Then followed an argument to show the expediency and propriety of this line, and the passage thus concludes:

But if you shall find that the Mexican Government is unwilling to alter the agreed line in the manner proposed, and that it insists upon the execution of the third and fourth articles of the treaty before mentioned, you are authorized to agree to the recognition and establishment of the line as described in the third article, and to narcation of it forthwith, as is stipulated in the

Of course the minister was instructed upon the supposition that the Government of Mexico would be willing to alter the line, to propose a new one varying two degrees from that of the Sabine, established by the treaty with Spain. But if she were not willing to accede to this, he was instructed to propose commissioners to make a survey, with a view to establishing a line. This proposition, as had been stated the day be-fore, was found to be exceedingly disagreeable to the Mexican Government. Yet, at a still later period, (1827.) a new proposition, still more specific and particular, to the same effect, was made by this Government to Mexico. In the instructions from the Department of State it was

'The great extent and the facility which appears to have attended the procurement of grants from the Government of the United Mexican States, for large tracts of country to citizens of the United States, in the province of Texas, authorize the belief that but little value is placed upon the possession of the province by that Government. These grants seem to have been made without any sort of equivalent, judging according to our opinions of the value of land. They have been made to and anotyperly in contemplation of being settled by opinions of the value of land. They have been made to and apparently, in contemplation of being settled by citizens from the United States. These emigrants will carry with them our principles of law, liberty, and religion; and however much it may be hoped they might be disposed to amalgamate with the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, so far as political freedom is concerned, it would be almost too much to expect that all collisions would be avoided on other subjects. Already some of these collisions have manifested themselves, and others, in the progress of time may be anticipated with confidence. These collisions may insensibly enlist the sympathies and feelings of the two republics, and lead to misunderstandings.

Afterwards, that vote was reconsidered, on motion of Mr. ROMERSON, of Virginia, and a committee of three were appointed, of which he was the chairman, to select such portions of the documents as, in their judgment, it was expedient to have printed and the report of that committee, recommending the printing of certain of the papers, &c. in question. was subsequently adopted by the House, and the printing ordered accordingly.

The boundary which we prefer is that which, beginning at the mouth of the Lio del Norte in the sea, shall ascend that river to the mouth of the Rio Puerco; thence ascending this river to its source, and from its source, by a line due north, to strike the Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source, in latitude 42 degrees north, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the South sea. The boundary thus described would, according to the United States ry thus described would, according to the United States of Santa. Fe within the limits of Mexico, and the whole of Santa. Fe within the limits of Mexico, and the whole of Santa Fe within the limits of the Arkansas, as far up as Red river, or Rio Roxo and the Arkansas, as far up as it is probably navigable, within the limits assigned to the United States. If that boundary be unattainable, we the United States. would, as the next most desirable, agree to that of the Colorado, beginning at its month. do, and ascending the river to its source, and thence by do, and ascending the liver to his sorte, one a shove a line due north to the Arkansas, and thence, as above traced, to the South sea. This latter boundary would probably also give us the whole of the Red river, would w us somewhat further from Santa Fe, but it would throw us somewhat further from Santa Fe, but it would strike Arkansas possibly at a navigable point. To obtain the first described boundary, the President authorizes you to offer to the Government of Mexico a sun not exceeding one million of dollars. If you find it impracticable to procure that line, you are then authorized to offer, for the above line of the Colorado, the sum of five hundred thansand dollars.

Now, these two propositions were made when Texas was free, slavery having been abolished by law in that province; and Mr. A. said that he referred to them at the time, because there had then already been grants of land made to citizens of the United States in that province, laying the foundation of that spirit lately and at present so manifest in this country, of grasping at that territory. He had said that this proposition of altering the boundary between this country and Mexico, was highly disagreeable to the latter. The minister from this Government had been authorized to make a treaty of commerce as well as of limits. He says:

as well as of limits. He says:

'I waited on the Secretary of State, by appointment, on the morning of the 12th instant, in order to discuss the manner of conducting the negotiations for the treaties of commerce and of limits between the two nations. was agreed to treat the two subjects separately respect to the treaty of limits. I suggested that,

although the Government of the United States held itself bound to carry into effect the treaty of limits concluded with the King of Spain, 22d of February, 1819, still it would appear more becoming the independent character of this [Mexican] Government to lay aside that treaty altogether, and to endeavor to establish a boundary which would be more easily defined, and which might be mutually more advantageous. The Secretary expressed himself much gratified by such a suggestion, and proposed that the two Governments should forthwith appoint commissioners to make a reconnoissance of the country bordering on the line formerly settled with Spain, so as to obtain such information in regard to that portion of our respective territo-ries as would enable us to act understandingly on the

There was the proposition. The minister proposed that the commissioners should be ap-pointed to trace the line, under the treaty of 17-95, 'so as to enable us to act understandingly, &c. He continues:

'I objected to this proposal the limited powers of the resident of the United States, and that such an appointment could not well be made until the next meeting Congress. He replied that his Government would be very averse permanently to fix the limits between the two nations on the very slender information they at present possessed of that frontier country.'

There is the first answer to the first proposition; and it required no great depth to understand the feelings with which that proposition was regarded by Mexico. The letter proceeds:

After some further conversation on the subject, it was agreed that he should address me a note, stating the views of this [Mexican] Government in relation to the proposed convention of limits. This has not yet been received.'

Well, continued Mr. A., then follows the note of the 20th of July, 1825, in which the Mexican Secretary of State distinctly proposes that the two subjects of negotiation be treated separately, and without reference to one another.

We might then, if your excellency thought proper, and this is the opinion of the President, proceed immediately to negotiate the treaty of commerce, leaving on one side the point of limits; and that we might negotiate on this subject, the two Governments might name their commissioners, who, on examining together the country within a given latitude, from one sea to might present exact information, upon which mits might be established, as is desired.'

To this Mr. Poinsett objects, as he had done before. Then follows a letter dated in March, 1836, and written by Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, nine months afterwards:

By the colonization law passed in August, 1824, the General Government reserved twenty leagues of land from the frontiers of neighboring nations, and ten leagues from the sea shore, which cannot be granted by the States except with the previous consent of the Excutive. Having learnt that the President had given his consent to a grain or annual and Texas, of a tract situated within the on the Red river, I called this morning at the the Secretary of State, and told Espinosa that I should not consider any grant as valid that was made while nations were pending, in the event of that por-untry being included by the treaty within the he United States. He admitted that the oblimits of the United States. He admitted that the ob-jection was proper, and engaged to write to the State of Texas on the subject.'

Here Mr. Poinsett undertakes to protest against grants of land, on the ground that the territory in question may be annexed to the U-On the 18th of March, a few months after this, he says:

'This Government has appointed General Teran to examine the country near our respective frontiers, and to obtain such information as will enable them to treat upon that subject understandingly.

The Government of Mexico at this time felt so deep an interest in this matter of the boundary, that, without waiting for the treaty, they unlertook, by their own authority, to trace the line. This was analogous to a proceeding at home, to a question now pending, and which Mr. A. wishas indeed it must be, one way or another, before long; and it was now a question whether Maine should not do as Mexico had in this instance done, and run her own boundary line, without reference to the wishes or action of Great Britain.

At a later period, (continued Mr. Adams,) Mr. Poinsett says, under date of the 6th of October, 1827 :

The only act passed by the Congress, since the commencement of their session, of any importance, is the appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars towards defraying the expenses of the commissioner, General Teran, pinted by this Government to examine and report appointed by this Government to examine and report upon the country which lies near and upon the boundary between the United States and Mexico, agreeably to the views of this Government, as expressed in their communication of the — of August, 1825. The com-mission has not set out on this expedition for want of ades, Congress having appropriated what the Treasu-does not at this moment contain. In private conver-tions with the President and Secretaries, I have sought il the treaty of limits is definitely settled. They say, in reply, that the public is so anxious to have that qu tion settled, that they think it politic so to act at present, and assure me of their earnest desire to adjust that delicate point as soon as possible.

There is a subsequent document in which there is a formal acknowledgement that the Republic of Mexico possessed the right separately to draw this line.

On the 19th of March, 1828, Mr. Obregon, Minister Plenipotentiary from Mexico to the United States, informed their Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, that the Mexican Government had appointed General Teran to perform (separately) the scientific operations and surveys necessary to proceed in the execution of the treaty of To this notification Mr. Clay answered on the 24th of March; and in that answer says:

The treaty to which you are understood to refer, d at Mexico, has not yet been received, and consequently is not yet ratified by this Government measures, there, re, in relation to its execu-ibe premature, until that ceremony is per-but as the operations and surveys content plaformed But as the operations and surveys content plated by General Teran's appointment, are presumed to be invended for the satisfaction of the Government of the United States of Mexico, the President has no objec-

all the rights of Spain, and bound by all the obligations of the mother country. They instanced the cession made by Spain to Great Private Pri Bay of Honduras, which, however inconvenient to the Mexican Government, it had nevertheless felt itself bound to ratify; and, in short, declared that if I did not consent to comply with the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies, it would be useless to discuss the other articles of the treaty, as it was certain that Congress would not ratify any treaty which did not contain such a pro-

rislature of Mexico for their assent was not taken nto consideration, on the ground that the ques- ued Mr. ADAMS) occur the following passages: tion of limits was not yet settled. A protocol the resolution of the Chamber of Deputies on the subject, and which resolution was as follows: ubject, and which resolution was as follows:

'The plenipotentiaries of Mexico read the resolution

debrated by the cabinet of Madrid in the year 1819, mits of the two contracting part es.

above mentioned treaty as in full orce and binding upon the United States.

And the protocol proceeds to say:

The plenipotentiary of the United States replied doing so, nat, although the limits, as settled by the treaty of Mexico. Washington, were liable to some objections, and might be altered advantageously for both the contracting parties, as he had before frequently explained, still, it the Government of Mexico insisted upon the execution of the third and fourth articles of that treaty, he could not the third and fourth articles of that treaty, he could not Vashington, were liable to some objections, and might

The Mexican plenipotentiaries said that their Govrnment had invariably acted upon the principle that Mexico was bound to respect the treaties of the Spansh monarchy prior to the declaration of her independ ish monarchy provided a declaration of her independence; as, for instance, Great Britain had acquired rights from Spain within the territory of Mexico, (in the Bay of Honduras,) which, however inconvenient to this Government, it was proposed not to disturb, and had acknowledged the existence of those rights in the

n article to that effect.

of the boundary, that the Government for the pressed this odious suffect of the boundary, that the Government had sent to ours a demand for his immediate recall thereof as they can be induced to each to us, if the same be conformable to either of the locations with which your power to submit, and the pecuniary consideration be conformed to the first of the difficulties which may be interposed to the accomplishment of the object in view; but he confidently believes that the views of the natter which it will be in your power to submit, and the pecuniary consideration proof of this, I will refer the House to the which you will be authorized to propose, will enable you to effect it. He is induced, by a deep conviction of the real necessity of the proposed acquisition, not only as a guard for our Western frontier, and the protection of New Orleans, but also to secure forever to the inhabitants of the valley of the Mississippi the undisputed and undisturbed possession of the navigation of that river, together with the belief that the present moment is particularly favorable for the purpose, to request your early and unremitting attention to the sub-incet.

Message of President Jackson at the commence—the net of the session of 1829-30:

'The recent invasion of Mexico, and the effect thereby produced upon her domestic policy, must have a controlling influence upon the great question of South American emancipation. We have seen the fell spirit of civil dissension rebuked, and, perhaps forever stiffed in that Republic, by the love of independence.'*

Deeply interested as we are in the prosperity of our sister Kepublics, and more particularly in that of our sister Kepublics, and more particularly in that of our sister.

The territory of which a cession is desired by the United States is all that part of the province of Texas which lies east of a line beginning at the Gulf of Mexico, in the centre of the desert or Grand prairie, which es west of the Rio Nucces, and is represented to be early two hundred miles in width, and to extend north to the mountains. The proposed line following the course of the centre of that desert or prarie, north, to the mountains, dividing the waters of the Rio Grande lel. Norte from those that run castward to the Guif. until it strikes our present boundary at the 42d and you find the Mexican Government disposed to rede any portion of the territory in question, you are authorized to agree to any of the following lines, reda bay, and continuing up that river on the western bank thereof to the head of its most westerly branch; Colorado; and thence up the Colorado river, on the western bank thereof, to the head of its principal stream; thence by the most direct course that will intersect our line at the 42d degree of north latitude, and

thereof, to continue up the river to the head of its prin-

will enable us to intersect our present line at the point already indicated.

There was in this letter, a very long arguof that argument were worthy the attention of the House. The writer says:

ation as to the results which are to be expected from a contiguity of settlements under such unfavorable circumstances. The experience of the past affords the means one step further, and one year later. Here we have the state of things as they existed in 1829. I will now (said Mr. A.) take the liber y itself by our citizens who inhabit that frontier, which has been productive of much uneasiness to the Mexican Government, and not without solicitude to this. Most of the grants that have been made in Texas are alreading from a letter, written by Dr. Mayo, a confidential officer of the Government at the time, written in 1830, to the President of the United States, in which there was enclosed a cipher, within which no grants should be made or settlements permitted, the improvements of the Americans on the Texas side commence from what is a few made or the cipher, and one year later. Here we have the state of things as they existed in 1829. I will now (said Mr. A.) take the liber y of reading from a letter, written by Dr. Mayo, a confidential officer of the Government at the time, written in 1830, to the President of the United States, in which there was enclosed a cipher, the cipher, I believe, of the Masonic or settlements permitted, the improvements of the Americans on the Texas side commence from what is a support of the comments of the Americans on the Texas side commence from which there was enclosed a cipher,—the cipher, I believe, of the Masonic or settlements permitted, the improvements of the Americans on the Texas side commence from a few when the state of things as they existed in 1829. I will now (said Mr. A.) take the liber y of reading from a letter. Arithment by Dr. Mayo, a confidential officer of the Government at the time, written in 1830, to the President of the United States, in which there was enclosed a cipher,—the cipher, I believe, of the Masonic or settlements permitted, the improvement of the Americans on the Texas side comments. settlements permitted, the improvements of the Americans on the Texas side commence from what is re- of the day.

tion to them. I have therefore the pleasure of transmitting the passport requested from this office, which, although it may not be necessary to the security of General Teran and his suite, may conduce to the removal of any obstructions which, without it, he might possibly encounter.

In order to show the interest which the Government of Mexico attached to this subject at the time, Mr. A. referred to another letter of Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clav, in which the former said: cause orising, is too notorious to require elucidation. time, Mr. A. referred to another letter of Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay, in which the former said:

'The Mexican Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution, when the treaty was formerly before them, on which, I understand, they will insist. It is in these words, viz. 'This Chamber will not take into consideration the treaty which the Government has concluded with that of the United States of America, until an article shall be inserted in it recognising the validity of that which was celebrated by the cabinet of Madrid, in the year 1819, with the Government of Washington, respecting the limits of the territories of the two contracting parties.'

'The plenipotentiaries, in reply to all my observations on the sabject, and to my proposals to alter the limits, insisted that Mexico had a right to consider that treaty binding upon the United States, as being invested with all the rights of Spain, and bound by all the obligations nother country. They instanced the cession ever be preserved between neighboring State s.'

They instanced the cession ever be preserved between neighboring State s.'

Here, by the authority of the head of the ver

than four revolts, one of them having for its The treaty of commerce laid before the Le- avowed object the independence of the country. In another part of these instructions (contin

'The President does not desire the proposed or ssion and so strong are his convictions of its great val ue to the United States, that he will not object, if you should amber of Deputies; which is in the following find it indispensably necessary, to go as high as five millions. You will, of course, consult the interests of House will not take into consideration the

treaty which the Government has concluded with the obtained at all) upon terms as favorable and for a United States of America so long as it does not contain price as low as practicable, regarding the sum a bove an article which shall renew the existence of the treaty celebrated by the cabinet of Madrid in the year 1814 authorized to so. Should not obtained at all open terms as favorable and for a price as low as practicable, regarding the sum a bove attacked only as the maximum amount to which you are the cabinet of Madrid in the year 1819, Maxico unwilling to part with as large a portion of we contracting part es. timits of the two contracting parties.

'This resolution was passed on the 2d of April, 1827, and the treaty was accordingly sent back to the President of the United Mexican States.

'The plenipotentiaries observed that this resolution endered it imperative upon the Executive first to sette this important question; and from the tenor of the tone addressed to them by the plenipotentiary of the United States, they presumed he could have no objection to respect the above mentioned treaty as in tuin.

'I have already stated that the present moment is

'I have already stated that the present moment is regarded by us as an auspicious one to secure the cession; and will now add, that there does not appear to be any reasonable objection to its being embr the score of delicacy, or from an apprehension that, doing so, we would give offence to the Government Nothing would be more adverse to the feel

'The comparatively small value of the territory in question to Mexico; its remote and disconnected situation; the unsettled condition of her affairs; the depressed and languishing store of her finances; and the settle, and, at this moment particularly, threatening attitude of Spain, all combine to point out and re-embrand to Mexico the policy of parting with a portion of her consistent of your lived and contingent heads! to this Government, it was proposed not to disturb, and had acknowledged the existence of those rights in the recent treaty with that Power.

'The plenipotentiary of the United States replied that he did not intend to dispute the validity of a treaty concluded between the United States and Spain at a period when Mexico formed a component part of the period when Mexico formed a component part of the period when Mexico formed a component part of the period when Mexico formed a component part of the period when Mexico formed a component part of the policy of parting with a portion of her territory of very limited and contingent benefit, to supply herself with the means of defending the residue with the better prospect of success, and with less onerous burdens to her citizens.'

In these paragraphs (continued Mr. Adams)

period when Mexico formed a component part of the speniod when Mexico formed a component part of the speniod monarchy; and that it was evident from city which I have charged against the late Adformer conferences, and from his note on that subject, ministration in regard to its Mexican policy. had never controverted this principle. Any ministration in regard to its Mexican policy, had never controverted this principle. Any most letter of instructions artfully touches upon the treaty of Washington must depend pon the mutual consent of the present contracting a series of arguments for the accomp lishment arties; but as the Executive and the Chamber of of the designs of this Government, while it con-Deputies of Mexico appeared determined to insist upon tains a denial of all intention to take ad vantage of the third and fourth articles of that treaty into of those arguments for that purpose. In the flect, he should no longer object to it.' first place, there is the admission explicitly The protocol of the next conference contained made that this Government might take advan marticle to that effect.

Mr. A. said he had referred to all these docTexas from Mexico, and then a disavoval of aments to show the extreme interest felt by the all such intention. Taken together, do they Government of Mexico in this question of boun- not clearly make out a case of double-dealing on the part of this Government with tha He now came to a very important and par- of Mexico? This letter was dated August. ticular instruction from Mr. Van Buren, as Sec- 1829. It so happened that, before it could retary of State, to Mr. Poinsett, in the year reach our Minister in Mexico, that Minister This was a very long letter and began had become so obnoxious to the Government of that Republic, chiefly on account of the earnest It is the wish of the President that you should, ness with which he pressed this edious subject

you will be authorized to projose, will enable Message of President Jackson at the commence-

sister Republics, and more particularly in that of our immediate neighbor, it would be nost gratilying to me were I permitted to say that the treatment which we friendly as the early and constant solicitude manifested the United States for her success gave us a right to rpect. But it becomes my duty to inform you that rejudices, long indulged by a portion of the inhabitants Mexico against the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenirotentiary of the United States, have bad an nfortheate influence upon the affairs of the two councies, and have diminished that usefulness to his own hich was justly to be expected from his talents and d until it strikes our present today.

It is known that the line gree of north latitude. It is known that the failure of several measures equally interesting to both particularly that of the Mexican Government; to the failure of several measures equally interesting to both particularly that of the Mexican Government; to the failure of several measures equally interesting to both particularly that of the Mexican Government is on the failure of several measures equally interesting to both particularly that of the Mexican Government; to the failure of several measures equally interesting to both particularly that of the Mexican Government; t authorized to agree to any of the following lines, regarding those furthest west as preferable. The second
proposed line commences on the western bank of the
Rio de la Baca, where it discharges itself into Matagorla bay, and continuing up that river on the western bank of the
Chapter des Affaices because of Mexico, through its the de la Baca, where it discharges used into Matagoria bay, and continuing up that river on the western cank thereof to the head of its most westerly branch; Minister. This was promptly corplied with; and a hence due north until the line shall strike the Rio Colorado; and thence up the Colorado river, on the Mexican diplomatic Agent near this Government, was

nelude the head waters of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

'The third proposal may be a line to commence at emouth of the Rio Colorado, where that river empties self into Matagorda bay, and on the west bank.

Mr. Poinsett went base. hereof, to continue up the river to the head of its printipal stream; and thence by a line drawn from the bore to Mr. Poinsett were extended to min. States to Mr. Poinsett were extended to min. So the bore to Mr. Poinsett were extended to min. So the continue at the 42d degree of north latitude, of Mr. Butler to this office, there was no document boundary line at the 42d degree of north latitude, of Mr. Butler to this office, there was no document boundary line at the 42d degree of north latitude. them; but he believed that, among the mass of Dios, and on the westerly bank of that river, to pursue them; but he believed that, among the mass of the course of that river up to the head of its most wes-documents which had accompanied the Preseterly branch by the west bank thereof; and from the ident's message the other day, and which the documents which had accompanied the Preshead of that branch of the river by such a course as House had laid on the table, and refused to print, enough would be discovered, at least, to raise the suspicion that this same Mr. Butler There was in this letter, a very long argu-ment in favor of the propositions which Mr. A. was unwilling to set on Mr. Poinsett was instructed to make to feot suspicions to the injury of any one, and be the Mexican Government; and some portions should at this time refrain from saying what he thought was evidence that Mr. Butler was interested in the lands of Texas, and in the We are not left altogether to conjecture and specu- lution which occurred soon after he went to Mex-

One step further, and one year later. Here

ROSTON.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 3, 1838.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

he directed to Boston as usual. LETTER FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The following letter from Mr. Adams, expressive of is warm sympathy with those who are struggling in the cause of human rights, was read at the meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, at the Marlboro' Chapel, on in violation of the national compact, which they Wadnesday last. It will send a thrill of pleasure through the hearts of all the friends of liberty and humanity, and cause oppressors and tyrants to quake II Quincy, 28th July, 1838.

EDMUND QUINCY. Esq., Boston: Dear Sir-I have received your kind intation in behalf of the Committee of Arrangety, to attend their celebration of the Anniversary solidated Government, where the whole is tethe Colonial Possessions of Great Britain.

It would give me pleasure to comply with the nvitation; but my health is not very firm; my and security. voice has been affected by the intense heat of and address their meetings, have imposed upon me the necessity of pleading the privilege of be found less formidable, when duly considered. ny years and declining them all.

gling for existence against the degeneracy of abolish it in the States themselves would be yer, and the servile sophist, and the faithless scribe, and the priestly parasite, will vanish beore them like satan touched with the spear of the lithuriel. I live in the faith and hope of the acter of the domestic institutions of the slaveis ready to perish upon your soul.

I am, Dear Sir, faithfully,

Your friend and servant, J. Q. ADAMS.

PRO-SLAVERY DEMOCRACY TAMED! There is nothing like adversity to quell the turbulence lace and power. Misfortune, indeed, works wonders its influence on political parties, not less than upon would become an ins adividuals; often leading them suddenly to exchange tone of unsparing denunciation, and bold defiance toprecation, and even cringing obsequiousness. Time as, when both the great political parties which divide fanatics,' 'incendiaries' and 'cut-throats; 'and when this District. with a view of abolishing it is osed in their madness, that we could never be strong. cial purposes, to be exercised, like all such po m a powerful host, cad in an armor pressly forbidden. (6)

nisfortune are gathering thick around their path, and to the peculiar institutions of one portion

ave heretofore employed. usal of 'An Address to the People of the United States,' gardless of all minor differences. ut, McKay of North Carolina, Potter of Pennsylvania, of us have witnessed and others About one fifth part of the Address, the whole of tion; and in the name of the policy of the administration purty on this subject, the the flattering unction to your souls,' that 'abolition see it, and therefore we have concluded to give it a ter. place in the Liberator. The reader will not fail to notice in perusing it, the absence of all those opprobrious for the nine hundred and ninety-ninth time. Intelligent epithets by which the politicians of both parties have been wont to characterize abolitionists; nor will be fail in the District of Columbia is virtually conceded! The truth is, the northern representatives dare not, in the referred to. We have appended a few notes.

ecter. so formidable (1) in its appearance, and so exposition of our views.

is one of those not delegated to the Genera!

talored and he willidge to fold on an

trol of the respective States, within whose limits the institution may exist, and within which neither this Government, nor that of the other States, nor their citizens, have any more right to interfere, directly or indirectly, than with the existence of slavery in Cuba, or any other Ms. Garsison being in Brooklyn, Conn., all foreign country. From this it follows that any letters intended for his private perusal, and not be used interference on the part of this Govern-for publication, should be directed to him at the for publication, should be directed to him at that fest breach of the Constitution. It would, in place. Communications for the Liberator should truth, be more than a simple breach of that instrument; it would be destructive of the primary object for which the Government was instituted, which was to preserve and protect more effectually the domestic peace and tranquility of the States, and their citizens.

w. To. C. Theyir

It also follows, that such interference on the part of other States, or their citizens, would be mutually pledged themselves to each other to preserve inviolate on entering into the

It also follows, that the States, separately and individually, where slavery exists, are alone responsible for it, either for good or evil; and the impression that any other State or its citizens are responsible. (3) in any way, for its existence originates in the gross and mischievous Federents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Soci- al conception, that ours is a great national conthe day upon which Slavery was abolished sponsible for the parts, just as the States are for counties, instead of a Federal Republic, compos ed of sovereign and independent States, united together for their mutual advantage, tranquility

Such, and so formidable, are the barriers the season, and a multiplicity of applications against an interference with this dangerous rom societies, political and literary, to attend subject, within the limits of the States. Nor

We hold, in the first place, that to attempt to I rejoice that the defence of the cause of abolish slavery in this District, as an intermeuman Freedom is falling into younger and diate step to abolishing it in the States themmore vigorous hands. That in three-score years from the day of the Declaration of Independ. from the day of the Declaration of Independence, its self-evident truths should be yet strug- in their full force, to which a direct attempt to an age pampered with prosperity and languish. is the motive and object intended, and not the ing into servitude, is a melancholy truth from means, that determine the character of the act. which I should in vain attempt to shut my eyes. doing of that indirectly which is forbidden to be There is no code of morals which justifies the But the summons has gone forth. The youthful done directly. If it be unlawful to burn our champions of the rights of human nature have neighbor's house, it would be equally unlawful buckled and are buckling on their armor, and to fire another, or even our own, with the intenthe scourging overseer, and the lynching law- tion of burning his. If there be a difference, the

progressive advancement of Christian Liberty, holding States, they have no right, when acting and expect to abide by the same in death. You ment, by any of their acts, to discriminate behave a glorious and arduous career before you. tween their institutions and those of the other and it is among the consolations of my last days, States. It must be borne in mind that ours is a that I am able to cheer you in the pursuit and Federal Republic, as has been already stated, exhort you to be stedfast and unmovable in it. formed by sovereign and independent States, for So shall you not fail, whatever may betide, to their mutual security and happiness; and that reap a rich reward, in the blessing of him that they instituted this Government, and clothed it with powers to carry into effect these important objects. Such being the character and object of our system it is clear that this Government can have no right whatever to give a preference to the institutions of one portion of the Union over those of another. (5) or to use its power to abolish one or establish the other: and to do so, be the pretext what it may, would be directly so bversive of the object for which it was established by ave long felt themselves secure in the possession of destroying that which it was intended to protect. Instead of preserving peace and tranquility, it would become an instrument, in the hands of the stronger portion of the Union, for assailing the institutions of the weaker, and engendering vards an unpopular body of men, for one of the mildest thereby the bitterest feelings of hostility, which, in the end, would destroy the Union itself.

Resting on these broad and incontrovertible the country, imagined it to be for their interest to de- principles, we hold it to be clear, beyond dispute, unce abolitionists in the most unsparing manner, as that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in hey even contended furiously with each other, to see States, or to exercise any of its powers with that hich should have the credit of alusing us the worst, intention. Nor do we deem it material, in comand hating us the most intensely! That was the time ing to this conclusion, to inquire what is the exfour numerical weakness, when unprincipled politi- tent of its powers over this District : be they cians, who could not appreciate the power of Truth, sup- what they may, they are all conferred for spe-But they have found to their dismay, that their ers, in subordination to the known objects for buse has worked greatly to our advantage, and that which they were granted. To pervert them to the measures which they had planned as the means of any other purpose inconsistent with the object our utter disconfiture and annihilation, have caused us of the grant, would be a violation of the Constito grow mightily, so that at length we are enabled to lution, not the less dangerous because not ex-

which no weapons of theirs can penetrate. The admin- Thus regarding the powers of the Government, stration party having until recently felt secure in the it is sufficient to sustain the conclusion at which ssession of political power and patronage, has been we have arrived—that the Government has no as affected than the other party, in its aspect towards right to abolish or interfere with slavery in the us, by our unparalleled growth. Now, as the clouds of States, or to use its powers to give a preference the prospect before them wears a threatening and dubi- Union over those of another: (5) this admitted, ous aspect, mark their altered tone! Instead of loading and the conclusion follows as a matter of course. us with curses and execrations, they now condescend to It is on this broad and deep foundation that we argue the question calmly and dispassionately; and in bottom the course which we think ought to be oing so, virtually concede that Congress has a right to pursued by the Government on this agitating abolish slavery in the District of Columbia! A very re- and dangerous question. Here, and here only, markable change, truly; and one which shows incon- can a stand be made to arrest its progress, give estibly that political men are beginning to open their peace and quiet to the country, and permanency eyes to the folly of attempting to stay the march of hu- to the Union. If this be surrendered, on no othnan freedom by the puny instrumentalities which they er ground can a stand be made; and we call on all who love the country, and value peace, har-We have been led to make these remarks by the pe- mony and union, to take their stand on it, re-

put forth by a Convention of the Republican members In addition to what we have said, we would of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Unied States, held in the Capitol at Washington, July 6th, this Government to the States of Virginia and 1838; of which Hon. John M. Niles, of Connecticut, Maryland, (7) of the sacred rights of property and Hon. Charles E. Haynes, of Georgia, were Chair-men, and Hon. George M. Kein, of Pennsylvania, and when they were surrendered by these States to Hon. H. L. Tunner, of Tennessee, Secretaries. The the protection of Congress. We would also ask address is signed by the following gentlemen, who were an attentive consideration to that state of oastituted a committee to prepare it, viz: Messrs. Will anarchy and confusion which must exist at the liams of Maine, Wall of New Jersey, Allen of Ohio, seat of the General Government, when this Disand Fulton of Arkansas, Senators; and Messrs. Thom- trict shall become the receptacle of the fugitive as of Maryland, Jones of Virginia, Toucey of Connecti- slaves from all the neighboring States. (8) Some Richardson of South Carolina, Parker of New York, with deep regret, the deteriorated condition of Crary of Michigan, and Vell of Arkansas, Representa- the slaves, (9) produced by this disturbing ques-Union, we ask which occupies more than four columns in the Globe, is our fellow-citizens to forbear its further agitation. levoted to the subject of abolition. As indicating the (1.) 'So formidable!' Mark that, all ye who 'lay

abolitionists throughout the country will all desire to is on the wane!' The members of Congress know bet-

to observe that the power of Congress to abolish slavery northern representatives, who voted to adopt the Adquite ashamed of it. We should like to see one of the dress, rise in an audience of some of his junior constituents, assembled for a lyceum discussion, and repeat face of their constituents, deny that Congress possesses that stale assertion—'no right to interfere.' If be did that power. The following is the part of the address not smart under the operation of wholesome, boyish common-sense, then it would be because he was utterly The subject of abolition has assumed a char- incapable of appreciating an argument.- No right to interfere!' What do these sage democrats mean by des ructive in its tendencies, as to call for a brie the declaration? Do they mean to say that the North has no right to abolish slavery in the southern States The existing relation of master and slave be- by legislation? Then abolitionists have no controversy tween the two races inhabiting the Southern with them, and they are battling a man of straw. Do portion of the Union, existed when the Consti- they mean that we have no right to interfere with slavtution was formed, and is recognized in the ap- ery by moral means-by the use of the tongue, the pen portionment of members in the House of Rep and the press? They DARE NOT look their constitutes as well as in the imposition of disents in the face and say yes; and yet their language rect taxes, and the clause guaranteeing the de- will be so understood at the South. If they do not meat livery up of persons held to service or labor in as much as this, then all their reasoning on this point is one State and escaping into another.

It is manifest that the power over this subject ists have ever denied. By constantly harping on these eatch-words, 'no right to interfere,' without condescend Government, and of course, is one of the teser- ing to explain their meaning, and thus making up a ved powers; as such, it is under the entire con- alse issue, our opponents have long succeeded in blind | upon it.

ling the eyes of a large portion of the people to the point in controversy. The Legislature of Rhode Is ast winter, when the slavery question was brough on the report of a committee to whom were relarge number of anti-slavery memorials, resolved the legislatures of the several States and leve this Union, and the people of the same, have no to interfere with the domestic relations of other & to interfere with the domestic contents of orner State.

This resolution was intended as a rebuke to the state. tionists; and yet, strange to tell, it was immedal preceded by another, passed by the same body in following words:

Resolved, 'That SLAVERY and the present trade between States of this Union, and Tenton thereof, are GREAT MORAL AND SOCIAL EVIL

Here was a complete endorsement of the fund tal doctrine of the abolitionists, and its prount gate the legislature of a sovereign State, was an interence ' with slavery, of a character far more chemin he South than any measure of theirs. Does the Constitution prohibit the people of the Sha

Does the Constitution prompt of the Str. from promulgating, through the pulpit and the pu doctrines which a legislature may innocently send for to the world, under the sanction of its high and (3.) The people of the non-slaveholding States a responsible for slavery at the South, only so fir ash responsible for stavery at the words, only so liftage, influence, exerted in various ways, goes to sustain As philanthropists and Christians, our field is s philanthropists and Caristians, our neld is a world, and as moral beings, God will hold us respon ble for all the sin which we do not seek, by all am priate means, to prevent. Politicians may overled ntenn this sacred obligation, and recreant press may denounce it as nothing more than the offspring. fanaticism; but it is nevertheless an important kan

(4.) Mark this language! The right to abolish sha ry in the District, as a thing by itself, is not denied out it must not be done as an 'intermediate step' to at ition in the States! A marvellous distinction and one which must be vastly consoling to our sal ern brethren!' We may abolish slavery in the D trict, it seems, as quick as we please-but, mark! nust not do it 'with a view of abolishing'else, (as, for instance, the tythe system in Englan ver which we have no control! If the democrate y continues to abate its pro-slavery doctines as dly as it has done within a short time past, it will o marvel if by next year its leaders b few thousand votes, to give us a pledge in fare abolition in the District, provided we will agree and h o some other thing which we never dreamed of dead Stranger things than this have happened.

(5.) Good! We take this for a plain admission, the ongress, in giving a 'preference to the peculiar inc ations' of the South over those of the North, as it le one, by laying the petitions of thousands of people the free States, on the table, without reading, print ebate, or reference, has violated the Coust take it for granted, furthermore, that we shall be thing further, at least from any democrat, in favor the annexation of Texas in order to strengthen the inculiar institutions ' of the South; and as it is 'on the broad and deep foundation ' that the party is now bo med,' we shall expect to see it set its face as a flat against any attempt, come from what quarter it may to perpetuate southern slavery at the expense of nonten

(6.) Yes! and as the 'known object' for which all he powers of Congress were granted was to astice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the com mon defence, promote the general welfare, and scoretic blessings of liberty,' and as slavery is ininital to a these, that body, in establishing it in the District. verted' its powers to a 'purpose inconsistent with t object of the grant,' and is bound to repair the injur FORTHWITH by giving freedom to all whom it has mrighteously doomed to bondage.

(7.) The 'faith' of the government was 'plighted'i the following clause of the Constitution

. Congress shall have power to exercise exe Slation IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER listrict as may, by the cession of particular States, come the scat of the government of the United State (8.) What! the slaves, who are happy and cont

ed, and love their masters so dearly, going to run aw (9.) That is to say, these republican legislate hese representatives, some of them from the free Su of the North-these staunch advocates of equal ries these Simon-pure Jeffersonian democrats, who believe

that all men are created equal- have heard Will DEEP REGRET! that HUMAN FLESH does not be so high a price in the American shambles as it former

And heaven is weary of the hollow words, Which [politicians] utter, when they talk Of truta and justice.'

REV. ELIPHA WHITE-once more.

We understand that this 'wolf in sheep's clothet, ad the audacity, by some hocus-pocus arrai between himself and another clergyman, to the pulpit of the First Church in Abington, a short since, in the absence of the pastor. The church are informed, subsequently held a meeting to cons what should be done in the premises; and after the liberation, voted to send him a copy of some and ry resolutions, passed about a year ago, accomp by a request that he would not come there to again, so long as he held his present views on the ject of slavery. The is doing the thing in the way. When will other churches take the same dec ed stand?

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, a minister of the South of Friends, from England, preached a discourse Sabbath evening in the Marlboro' Chapel. He sea of the 'fulness of liberty' enjoyed in this country is manner which showed but too plainly that our two at a half millions of slaves were out of his mind. Though staunch abolitionist in England, his influence this country is understood to be on the side of the portion of the Society of Friends who stand aba from the present anti-slavery efforts. This is a mai ter of deep regret to many who admire his talent as a minister. For our own part, we do not belief that the Spirit of God tells him, or any other ministe any denomination, not to open his mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction to flame against oppression in England and to be slean in America! Of all the heresies which have ever crep into the Society of Friends in this country, none is a pernicious as that which leads too many of its members o 'stop their ears to the cry of the poor;' and we could wish that a sin of such magnitude might be lath fully pointed out to them.

Do SLAVES DESIRE LIBERTY? Let those who doubt read the following affecting anecdote from a specia made by Joseph Mason, in Salem, Ohio.

'Some will say the slave does not want Now I have travelled considerable among then know that there is hardly one but what would ling to be free if he had the chance. I was in da last fall, and saw a steamboat teen slaves, among which were a and eleven chidren. The old ma The old man was and eleven content.

When he stepped of shore, he exclaimed, 'Oh freedom! fre God! He promised me long since tha seed should yet be free, and now the promised that the state of the state and we are permitted to breathe the sury.' I stepped up to the old man and the was making all this noise about! he was making all this noise about! Oh I am so rejoiced that my spirit can now mothe land of freedom, and that I can die amount the land of freedom, and that I can die amount the land of freedom. dren. He then rejoiced over his liberty like twenty years of age, though according to the nature he could not reasonably hope to live I five years, and these partly years of affliction.

MARK OF CREDIT. The New York Observe published Gerrit Smith's letter to John Tappan! act of magnanimity for which it ought to credit. We have accordingly made a long marks favor. A Bull from the Pope, permitting his subj o read the Scriptures, would hardly have surpris more. Can abolitionism be 'on the wane' when the New York Observer is constrained to publish sides? Time was, when the readers of that P would have had to guess at the contents of such a mment, as well as they could, from the editor's criticism

MOVEMEN So namen anti-slavery giving birth veezly shee are compellative some si and imperi This must b nothing hith connected w Episcopal C portant to b now to lay before our r It is well N tho fist p purion of the many of the we may ma

Bangs, are be recollect composed of sook very de monished th anti-slavery failed to ace the abolit 'fanatical' rather than question, da ry cause in order to brit ally against

abomination formed in s ing of the N very resolut body. The on the grou monster sh measure, wi the unanimo indignation instead of le became the erful 'agita' question in Methodist these, as on the last aut since, at Uti ed, and the ranks of the rod of eccle who had pre

tinued to p church who shield of ec cause of hu ly multipfyil Orange Sco the whole pr to desperatio whole north to use the tre their hands, plish their ur attended the tumacy and some of their a condemna following w

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he present siare. and Territories GCIAL EVILS of the fundamen promulgation by as an 'interfer nore offensive in tople of the States

and the press, ently send forth high authority? lding States are mly so far as their es to sustain our field is the hold us responsicek, by all appro s may overlook o recreant priests in the offspring of important leature

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(is not denied;

nediate step' to ab. distinction, truly, distinction, truly, ling to 'our south-avery in the Dis-e-but, mark! we ning'—something tem in England,) he democratic par doctrines as rapbecome willing for ledge in favor of will agree not to dreamed of doing! ain admission, that the peculiar insti-ne North, as it has sands of people in reading, printing

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party is now bott quarter it may,to pense of northern i, was 'to establish rovide for the comfare, and secure the the District, 'pe consistent with the all whom it has was 'plighted' in reise exclusive leg EVER, over such

ticular States, be appy and conten going to run away! serious! ican legislatorss of equal rightswe heard WITH ESH does not bear les as it formaly

once more. nan, to preach in igton, a short time The church, we eeting to consider d some anti-slave ago, accompanied views on the subing in the right the same decid-

ter of the Society

they talk

a discourse last apel. He spoke this country in a that our two and s mind. Though his influence in the side of that who stand aloof This is a matmire his talents e do not believe other minister of uth for the dumb, d to destruction d and to be silent have ever crept intry, none is so y of its members poor; and we

hose who doubt, from a speech want to be free cong them, and I would be will I was in Canathere with there and nother to an another and nother to an another and nother to another and nother and the Causala freedom 1-thank hat me and my omise is fulfilled, evel air of bereated in the control of the correct of the correct

k Observer has n Tappan! An long mark in its ave surprised us ane ' when even to publish both of that paper, ts of such a docditor's criticisms

NOVEMENTS IN THE METHODIST CHURCH. So namerous are the important events, to which the rety cause, in its onward progress, is constantly s both that we find it interly impossible, in a theet, to keep pace with them; and hence we selled by force of circumstances, either to no one subjects of great importance in a very brief perfect manner, or not to notice them at all. ageried manner of the street at all. there in relation to the recent movements, f with the anti-slavery cause, in the Methodist Charch. But these movements are too ims to thus shightly passed over, and we intend if the prominent facts connected with them

are known that a very large majority of the preschers in New England, and a considerable truse in some of the western Conferences, are It is known, also, that the Biskops and the leating men in the church, among whom manion as first and foremost, Drs. Fisk and birterly hostile to our holy cause. It will stell too, that the last General Conference, tol delegates from all the annual Conferences. tended ground against abolitionism, and adthe preachers 'wholly to refrain' from all ery movements. This admonition, however, complish the object for which it was given olitionists in the church being so incorrigibly all as to believe that they ought to obey God than man! They ceased not to agitate the day nor night, and converts to the anti-slave is that church were greatly multiplied. In bring their moral power to bear more effectuof the system of slavery, and particularly as of ridding the Methodist church of the foul anon, Preachers' Anti-Slavery Societies were several of the Conferences, and at the meethe New England Conference last year, anti-sladations were presented for the action of that These the presiding Bishop refused to entertain. round that they were opposed to the advice of geral Conference; and thus by the hand of ecclepower and despotism, the blow aimed at the slavery was for the time warded off. This are which was understood to be sanctioned by notes voice of the Bishops, excited the just upon of all the lovers of religious liberty, and fleading the abolitionists to hold their peace, the fruitful source of more extensive and powagricultum.' Finding it impossible to act on the a Conference capacity, resort was had to Lebolist Anti-Slavery Conventions. The first of asour readers will recoilect, was held in Lynn be but autumn, and the second and last, a few months at at Unca. These Conventions were well attend and their proceedings sent dismay through the slavery party in the church. The ery ambordination ' and ' schisin ' was raised, and the of selecistical censure held up to frighten those who had presumed to exercise the inalienable right of free sperch and corresponding action on this all imporquestion. Meanwhile, Zion's Watchman, under direction of its bold and indefatigable editor, con-

eld of ecclesiastical usurpation; and converts to the of human rights and religious purity were rapid molipfying under the faithful labors of such men as range Scott and George Storrs. The Bishops and whole pro-slavery portion of the church were driven esperation. They saw elearly that if something was hine to check the cause of impartial freedom, the we northern portion of the church would soon be plerly abolitionised. They recklessly determined me the fremendous ecclesiastical power placed in by the discipline of the church, to accomderenholy purposes. They began in the New of the Utica Convention, on the charge of 'conneer and insubordination,' and depriving them of use of their ministerial functions. They also issued

and to pour a flood of light into every part of the

h where its rays were not intercepted by the

Resolved. As the sense of this Conference. that any of its members or probationers who may patronize Zion's Watchman, by writing mendation of its character, by recommend it to our people, by obtaining subscribers. collecting or remitting money for it, shall considered guilty of INDISCRETION, and be ENSURED by the Conference.'

Another resolution was adopted as follows:

Resolved, That in the judgment of this inference, it is incompatible with the duty hich its members owe to the church, as its ministers, for them to be engaged in attending inteslavery conventions, delivering abolition sures, or forming anti-slavery societies, either or out of the church, or in any way agitating e subject so as to disturb the peace and har ony of the church, and that they be, and here-

Such were the despotic measures resorted to in where the majority of the Conference were on the avery side. But in New England, where the masere in favor of abolition, the inquisitors were pelled to resort to other means to effect their pur-Of the proceedings of the New England Conwe have spoken heretofore, though in very and general terms. Of one important transaction et we have furnished our readers no account. ing the session of the Conference, a paper was preed en tiled a ' Plan of Pacification,' which was reto a committee consisting of six abolitionists and may anti-abolitionists. This committee, not being was permitted to present the paper to the Conferon his own responsibility, and the question was on its adoption, after speeches by Bishop Soule Fisk-the abolitionists making no reply. The owing is a copy of the paper alluded to, which it is onant to publish, in order that the subject may be lizely understood.

Whereas the Methodist Episcopal Church the North has been, and still is greatly excid on the subject of American Slavery, and the ans which should be used for its removal n the church-and

Whereas we deem it of vital importance that peace of the church should be secured, in ler to her prosperity-

And whereas it is recognized as a cardinal wers should be 'Peace Makers,' and love another - and which are even given as tests

Therefore, the undersigned, ministers of said arch, after mutual con-ultation, have agreed alopt the following Principles and Measures the purpose above named.

We believe that the system of American Slais a great moral evil; and that the rela-springing from this, which bind an innoare to perpetual bondage to others against wsh, are sinful; although we concede the Master who sustains this relation, is in every case necessarily guilty.

We agree that, in any action we may be dished to take on this or any other subject, we

l. Never attack an officer, clergyman or pri member of the church in a public Journal Lecture, or publicly arraign the official acts any church officer; but all such difficulties shall be adjusted according to the discipline of rchurch. Provided, however, that this shall prevent courteous investigation of principles

2. We agree that we will not countenance any brother in leaving his proper work to lec-ture upon this or any other subject, without the on of the proper authorities of the church 3. No paper shall be established estensibly

I for the purpose above stated by our aid or sanc- ually destroyed slavery, many years ago, had

intion is that, in the present state of affairs, years, in those States where the laws would adthe peace of the church claims at our hands mit of emancipation. organizations of this character should not But those regulations respecting slavery were

in public for the master and his slave, or for the tions :-

and once a year to the whole Congregation, follows: but to explain at these seasons any part of our

petitioning the General Conference through the to free them. Yearly Conferences, or otherwise upon this or

and people to exercise 'the wisdom of the ser- nual sessions. pent and the harmlessness of the dove.'

We have not room for any comments on this extra-64 in the affirmative to 21 in the negative. Brother peace nor rest until the foul demon of slavery is Scott in an address to the Methodist abolitionists, says:

About forty members of the Conference, (all abolitionists.) did not vote on either side, and about thirty abolitionists voted in the affirmative. The great desire which was felt for peace. ngether with the influence of the bishop's address, induced some abolitionists, under the of Man, writing from New Milford, Ct., saysmpulse of the moment, to sign the articles and there to take neutral ground. But after taking at a place called Gaylord's Bridge in the same town, impulse of the moment, to sign the articles and time for reflection, the whole aspect of the affair became greatly changed. It was understood that any brethren who did not vote, were at liberty to record their names on either side, if they were disposed to do so, or to change their votes. "As I was standing forth for the defence of abolition as a part of the gospel, a certain man, chaining the control of the converts, flew into a passion, and said, the control of the converts flew into a passion, and said, the control of the converts flew into a passion, and said, the control of the converts flew into a passion and said, time for reflection, the whole aspect of the affair -The result was, that ten who voted in the affirmative, requested to have their votes changindexed, and thirty-three who did not vote at all, reitionist I despise you; and if I cannot go to heaven
quested to be numbered with those who voted without loving an infernal nigger, I'll go to hell. the negative; which makes the vote now stand 54 in favor of the instrument and 64 Watchman, says : stand 54 in favor of the instrument and 64 against it. Of course it is not binding on any one. I believe every anti-abolitionist in the Conference, who was present. signed it. And the fact that it was approved by Bishops Soule Journal—the Bishops and General Conference, trampand Hedding, and by doctors Bangs and Fisk, ling them all under foot.

must be. view of all the circumstances, that they were giving up people can enjoy equal rights. any essential principle. They thought, that by joining HAVERHILL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—RIGHTS AND DUanti-slavery societies out of the church, they could, on the whole, advance the cause quite as effectually as they had done by the measures previously pursued. In lowing resolution was unanimously adopted by the Hathey mad done by the measures previously pursued. In verhill Anti-Slavery Society, at its annual meeting on the disappointed if they do not think so themselves after the 4th, inst. We doubt not that it will be responded

rying the experiment. was adopted by a large majority, much to our grief and gether with the resolution, we copy from the Essex Reg. In the Maine Conference, the 'Plan of Pacification'

In the New Hampshire Conference, it was not brought forward, the opposition to it was so decided and over-whelming. At a meeting however, of the Preachers' Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, within the bounds of Day Solivare Both Schwarz Solivare

ing abolition lectures, or circulating abolition periodicals, does not involve immorality, or militate against his ministerial character.'

That they have had the subject under consid- Benjamin Lundy. The Pennsylvania Freeman states eration, and are of the opinion, that it never was intended by those who organized the M. E. but Philadelphia for Pittsburgh on Taesday morning of Church, that slavery should be perpetuated in her communion. We think this church was organized on principles that would have effect. The Genius of Universal Emercipation.

for the purpose above stated by our aid or sanction, or shall be countenanced by us, which claims to be controlled by any Methodist or Wesleyan Society, or having appellations attached to it peculiar to our church.

4. We agree that no Societies or Conventions claiming the character specified in section 3d, as were in slavery, was living and selling or giving away slaves, unless on purpose to free them, was also entirely prohibited. And the holding of such shall receive our approbation or aid. Our con- as were in slavery, was limited to a very few

soon suspended, and we regret to say, have 5. We hold that our ministers and private never been enforced. As a consequence, slavemembers are at liberty (nor shall it be regarded as an offence for them thus to do) to connect E. Church. It is true, our general rules fortid themselves as they may choose with any Anti- the buying and selling of men, women and chil-Slavery Society independent of the church ;- dren, with an intention to enslave them, yet it is provided, however, that our action in such cases well known, that other regulations of our discishall not contravene the principles of this agree- pline seem to allow of slaveholding, and even the general rule has been subjected to various 6. It shall not be regarded as an offence by constructions. Your committee, therefore, would s-but considered just-that prayer be offered recommend the adoption of the following resolu-

bolishment of the system. But we recommend | Resolved, That the New England Annual that Apostolic language be used, as far as may Conference recommend to the next General be, in such devotions-7. Our preachers have liberty not only to more in May, 1840, to alter our general rule, on read our Rules once a quarter to the Societies, the subject of slavery, so that it shall read as

The buying or selling, or holding men, women or children as slaves, under any circumstan-8. We hold that our people have the right of stances, or giving them away unless on purpose

Resolved, That the Bishops be, andthey are ny subject with which they have to do.

9. Nevertheless, in all circumstances relating going resolution to each of the Annual Conferto the above, we recommend to our preachers ences, for their concurrence, at their next an-T. MERRIT, Ch. Com.'

The enemies of the anti-slavery cause may triumph rdinary document. Every intelligent abolitionist, as much as they please over the disgraceful conduct of owever, will be able to dissect it for himself. It was the Maine Conference; but they may rest assured that a cunningly devised scheme, to ensnare the abolition. all these things will work greatly in our favor, by open sts, and induce them to lay their heads in the lap of ing the eyes of the people still more to the corruptions Del.lah, while they could be shorn of their strength by of the church. The work of abolitionism among the the razor of ecclesiastical authority. For a while we Methodists, is not 'on the wane; ' Scott and Storrs and were fearful that the ruse would succeed. The vote Sunderland, and their coadjutors, are neither dead nor on the question of adopting the paper stood at first sleeping; and that large denomination will have no out. The Bishops may issue their Bulls, and Drs. Fisk and Bangs may threaten, and shout 'schism' at the top of their lungs; but they will meet with a signal overthrow. The cause of emancipation will yet gloriously triumph.

'FISKIAN' METHODISM. A correspondent of the Friend

said, 'we have got two anti-abolition preachers on the to be one of the converts, flew into a passion, and soid

Rev. Gay Beckley, in a letter to the editor of Zion's

is sufficient to show what its true character | Such is the spirit which is rampant among a large portion of the churches of the present day. It is the It is due to those abolitionists who voted in favor of spirit which constitutes the vital element of colonizathe document, to say, that they did not consider, in tion, and which must be 'cast out' before the colored

> TIES OF WOMEN. We are gratified to find that the folto by nine out of ten of the abolitionists of Massachusetts. The sketch of Mr. Brown's remarks, which, to-

Resolved That the cause of American emancipation

Rev. Sylvester Brown, of Amesbury, in speaking to Rev. Sylvester Brown, of Amesbury, in speaking to this resolut on, commented in great kindness of feeling but with some severity, upon the conduct of those ministers who, to enlist woman in some favorite scheme of their own, would, as seemed to him, quite overrate her power and influence, and pronounce panegyrics which with all men, provided we can have it on prop-er principles; yet we are fully of the opinion, we would call in her aid, in behalf of 1,250,000 of her

with all men,' provided we can have it on proper or principles; yet we are fully of the opinion, that the articles of pacification, or 'common ground,' as they have been called, which have been before the N. England and Maine Conferences, will be productive of contention rather than peace.

Resolved, That in our opinion, the abolition brethren who signed those articles, have sacrificed in a great degree, both their principles and measures.

Resolved, That we reject the 'common ground' document, as defective in principle, and as likely to produce discord instead of peace.

Resolved, That we recommend to all Methodist Abolitionists, throughout the country, both in the ministry and membership, 'to live in peace' with all their opponents, as far as possible, but to have nothing to do with the above mentioned compromise.

Resolved, That we append our names to the foregoing resolutions; and that the editors of Zion's Herald, Zion's Watchman and the Maine Wesleyan Journal, be requested to publish them in their respective papers.

The same Society also adopted the following preamble and resolution with great unanimity.

'Whereas we heighly appreciate and approve the general course of Zion's Watchman—and whereas we believe the cause of truth and righten the same society also adopted the following preamble and resolution with great unanimity.

'Whereas we believe the cause of truth and righten to their these circumstances, there is a moving eloquence in her pleading, which, for one, he liked to hear.

'The Johnsy-Cake.' Such is the very significant titled of a small, but handsomely printed sheet, which made its appearance in this city last week. Its design in the call of humanity only let them heed the importance of the provided the provide

the general course of Ziou's Watchman—and whereas we believe the cause of truth and righteeousness requires the publication of such a puper open to the free discussion of all moral questions—therefore,

"The Johnst-Care." Since is the very significant title of a small, but handsomely printed sheet, which made its appearance in this city last week. Its design is, 'to discuss, in a familiar way, the various subjects relating to health and social improvement; and to aftherefore,
Resolved, That we highly approve of the ford a cheap medium for exposing the popular misrep objects had in view by the publication of the Zion's Watchman; and that we pledge to the conductors of said paper our prayers, and to use our best endeavors to aid its circulation and support; and we preachers of the N. H. Conference, feel ourselves at full liberty, and that we have the approbation of this Conference, by a reso-lution passed at its present session, to write in commendation of procure subscribers for, and remit money to said paper, and recommend it the editor, we are prepared to give our full assent, having tested it by an experience of three weeks-viz. that The following resolution was adopted by the Conferabstinence from animal food in warm weather is in a
before. It will be seen that it is precisely opposite in its
high degree conducive to health. Having lived awhile
in Rhode Island, we can testify that the 'Johnny Cakes' *Resolved, That it is the sense of this Confer-are an excellent article; and if this new 'Buston noence, that an attendance on the part of any of tion' should prove to be equally palatable and nutriits members, on abolition Conventions, delivercious, it will be worthy of a liberal patronage.

nia Freeman, a letter to the Rev. S. S. Schmucker, itate against his ministerial character.'

That the true position of the New England Conference may be understood, we publish the following report and resolutions, which were adopted with great unanimity, only one member voting in the negative:

'The committee who were appointed to take into consideration the propriety of recommending to our next General Conference, so to alter our discipline on the subject of slavery, as that no slaveholder should be received into the M.

E. Church, Report—

The people of color held a meeting in the Belknap Manchester 25,000, and the Carlisle 10,000. street church at 11 o'clock, which a friend who was present informs was deeply interesting. John T. Hit- enthusiasm in favor of abolition in the District of rox presided, portions of scripture were read by Rev. Columbia? J. C. Beman, of Hartford, Conn., prayer was offered by Rev. SAMUEL SNOWDEN, and interesting addresses were delivered by Thomas Cole, Rev. A. A. Phelps WM. NELL, Jr. Rev. J. V. HIMES, GEORGE RUSSELL and P. H Sweetsen; the whole enlivened by appropri-

The meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery So- to mean the levelling doctrines taught by Jesus Christ, ciety at Marlboro' Chapel, at 4 o'clock, was attended which so offended the 'judicious' rabbies of his deyby a large audience, and the exercises were of a very and the doctrine laid down by the Apostle James in the interesting character. Portions of scripture were read second chapter of his epistle, where he says—'If ye by Rev. J. V. Hines, and prayer was offered by Rev. have respect to persons, ye commit sin.' 'Abolition-J. C. Beman of Hartford, Conn. The speakers were ism, regulated by rious feeling, undoubtedly means A. A. Phelps, Amasa Walker, Esq., and Henry B. the kind advocated by the Boston Recorder and Port-STANTON. As our paper is just going to press, we have land Mirror, which denies to one half the human race either time nor room for any particular notice of their the prerogatives of humanity, and turns contemptuousaddresses. Suffice it to say, that they were all listened by on its heel at the petition of woman-which aims at o with the deepest interest, and that at the close, subscripthe expulsion of the slaves to Africa, erects a 'negroion papers were circulated, and the sum of \$443 obtain- pew' in the house of worship, admits the spoilers of ed in cash and pledges. A letter was read from John God's poor into the pulpit, and puts the wages of un-QUINCY ADAMS, which will be found in another column. righteousness into the Lord's treasury to send the gos-We must not omit to mention, that the music which pel, (a slaveholding gospel, of course,) to the heathen. was very good, was performed by a colored choir.

THE CHEROKEES.

The following letter from the Cherokee Agency dated June 15th, will shed some light upon the true state of things there, and furnish additional evidence of the orrid criminality of this nation :

The fair prospects with which we were flattered, for the relief of our people are all blasted! Utter ruin and the deepest distress attend the unoffending Chero-kees: I cannot find language to paint all that has taken place to increase the miseries of our people:

On the 26th of last mouth the forcible removal of the Cherokees commenced in Georgia, and on the 12th inst. throughout the other portion of the nation. At this moment, there are but very few Cherokees under the would received in one of them. And yet, notwith would received in one of them. shelter of their own roofs,—some two or three thou-sand have been sent off from Ross's landing by standing all this, he was toasted as follows: sand have been sent off from Ross's landing by water for the West. Their property is all lost. Under a system devised by Gen. Smith, agents were appointed to collect their goods and chattels of every description in a hurry, and to sell them off to the highest bidder, as fast as the owners were dispossessed of their places! You must have observed the effect of a forced sale in large towns full of purchasers; but here, the only persons to bid, are those who hate the Indians and are hungry for the lands from which they have driven them. The consequence is obvious. Every thing we had is sacrificed! within the walls of the 'Old Cradle of Liberty,' and washed down with Champaigne by professed friends of temperance and religion! We wish those members of Dr. Beecher's former congregation who applauded that toast would read the extracts from his sermon on the

removal. The season of the year would have rendered the critical Prayers.'
t the certain destruction of the greater number. We mentioned the 1st of September as the earliest moment when it would be safe to begin removing. After some deliberation, he consented, on the score of 'humanity.' But he did so conditionally. A written pledge was required that the Cherokees would bring in all their friends, who might be out, so as to save the troops the trouble of going to hunt after them. There are certain other articles, such as, the people must be subsisted during the time, circumscribed to the different camps within a range of three or four miles, and various other stipulations of the same sort, which seems strange to such of us as sometimes even yet hear it said that we are removing under a fair and voluntary sale of our country, by an honest and equitable bargain' The nentioned the 1st of September as the earliest moment ountry, by an honest and equitable bargain written pledge, however, will be entered into to-day. We will agree to any thing for the sake of peace and a respite, provided it does not commit us to an acknowledgemens of the fraudulent Treaty. Never, under any circumstances, will the Cherokees commit themselves to that instru-

roops. He was deaf and dumb. Not hearing he was lit. They are mighty through God to put down the walking off. He was shot. This took place in Geor- strong holds of tyranav and blood, though all the will be supported by the strong holds of tyranav and blood, though all the will be supported by the strong holds of tyranav and blood. gia. There has been no resistance in any quarter by the Cherokees. All quietly submit to their fate and are driven off like so many sheep to the slaughter-house. will write again as soon as times become more com. be for us, who can be against us?

Christ's sake, you will not stoop to this anti-slavery enterprise, let me entreat you for your own sakes. A storm is coming. A cloud is rising out of the sea, bigger than a man's hand. It is charged with thunder, and will give you hail-stones and fire for rain. Abolish

A public discussion was appointed to be held in and will give you hail-stones and fire for rain. Abolish your slavery, or the negro will ere long sweep your land with the besom of destruction. The West Indies lie under your southern lee. Black freemen there will not long sit still and see you mangle their brethren, while your deeds and your names are growing 'vile before all people, in the light of a world's liberty.' The soil of the West Indies henceforth is the soil of freedom. It is the land ot Touissant—of your own Hamilton. It will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some Hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some hamilton Is will teem with heroes. It is already sprouting for a harvest of them. What if some heroes, and or existing will have a proving the form and the following resolution was offered and discussed three evenings till after 10 o'clock, with increasing interest.

Resolved, That God does not authorize man to take the life of man in any case, as a penalty for crime, o'clock, with increasing interest.

Resolved, That God do

It is fancy—distempered imagination—come of drelling our martial deeds and glory be stamped with dishonor too long on one theme. It may be so. I turn from it, and only ask you most solennly and earnestly, that you all only ask you must solennly and earnestly, that you altend to the request of the Anti-Slavery Board of Man, sink into everlasting shame and contempt. igers on the Sabbath next following the first of August.

for ten days past with his usual success. On Sunday the 22d ult. he lectured at the village church (Rev. Mr. My Brother: I came here July 3d. In the evening lectured of the vininge chairs (Nev. Mr. My Brothers: I came here July 3d. In the evening lectured on slavery. The 4th, lectured at 2 P. M.
on human rights, showing that every human being, male
bore all things onward like an overflowing stream.
The house was completely filled.'

a Democratic County Convention in Vermont?

'Resolved, That we, as Democrats, consider slavery to be a moral and political evil, and therefore pledge ourselves to use all constitutional exertions for its abolization. Since they are pledged to 'use all Constitutional ex-

in the above resolution, vote for either of the gentlemen who have any chance of being nominated by the whigs. What then will they do? Nominate a genuine demo

We are obliged to defer our reply to the New York Observer, in relation to the character of Wash-

FIRST OF AUGUST IN BOSTON. | WOMEN OF ENGLAND, WELL DONE! The female adseveral hundred thousand Apprentices and the final the slave apprenticeship, contain six hundred and sinety overthrow of slavery in the British West Indies, was the slave apprenticeship, contain six hundred and sinety thousand signatures of women. The English adappropriately noticed by the abolitionists of this city. dress 450,000, the Irish 77,000, the Scotch 130,000, the

When will the women of America rally with equal

There is abolitionism in Maine, but it is regulated by pious feeling, and it is as wide as possible from the loco-loco abolitionism of a portion of the Anti-Slavery Society in Massachusetts.—Boston Recorder.

By 'loco-foco abolitionism,' we suppose the Recorder We have a beautiful illustration of the difference between these two kinds of abolitionism, in the case of the man spoken of by our Savior, who fell among thieves. The good Samaritan, we take it, was a 'loco foco,' while the Priest and the Levite, 'regulated by

pions feeling,' passed by on the other side! Query-What evil thing has been done by the aboli-ionists of Maine, that the Recorder should praise them?

POLITICAL MORALITY. Among the guests at the late arousal in honor of Mr. Webster, was Mr. Prentiss, wound received in one of them. And yet, notwith-

we petitioned Gen. Scott to suspend the immediate first page—particularly the paragraph headed 'Hypo-

So much for the morals of politics in old Massachusetts! What degeneracy!

COMMUNICATIONS.

FALL RIVER, JULY 13th, 1838. PEACE DISCUSSION IN FALL RIVER.

My BROTHER: The kingdom of brute force is in ment. By the time the respite is out, our delegation great commotion—the blood-stained throne of violence will certainly be back here from Washington. I am must fall before the spiritual, heaven-tempered weappressed for time and cannot write more. My mind is one of the gospel, despite the efforts of the military, pometric mental transfer and the more of the military, pometric mental transfer and the more of the military, pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military pometric mental transfer and the more of the military mental transfer and the more of the military mental transfer and the military mental transfer and the more of the military mental transfer and the military mental transf

One Cherokee man has been killed by the litical, and ecclesiastical powers of the world to sustain strong holds of tyranny and blood, though all the ministers of Church and State combine to strengthen it. For the cause of Peace is the cause of God-and if God

I came to this town on the 6th. On the Sabbath following, lectured for brother Burton in the Unitarian meeting-house in the forenoon; in the afternoon for The last Herald of Freedom contains a thrilling appeal, signed by N. P. Rogers, and addressed to the clergy of New Hampshire, beseeching them to lay before in the evening for brother Bronson in the Baptist meeting-house; and in the evening for brother Bronson in the Baptist meeting-house. their congregations next Sabbath, the important results of emancipation in the West Indies, and which conhave the people hear on the great question of peace, and Brethren and countrymen, I intended to address you nore at length, but I have not time.—Let me address nore at length, but I have not time.—Let me address nyself a moment to your fears. If for man's sake, for the ability of the people to judge for themselves respectively. A the subject in all its bearings. They are not afraid of

A public discussion was appointed to be held in the

gans should descend silently upon your southern coast, with arms for 50,000 black men; their coming asceret it would be as the pestilence before it breaks out. Fifty thousand slaves are missed at once from the cotton fields, and anon are heard of with arms in their hands, and anon are heard of with arms in their hands, and anon are heard of with arms in their hands, and anon are heard of with arms in their hands, and all were anxious to hear it discussed. There neits, and after a referred of with arms in their names, added, and all were anxious to near tradecissed. There is no subject that has such power to move, to arouse a community as that of peace, when fully and boldly west, and the vengeful Mexican answering to the cry of the embattled slave.

I turn from the opening picture. You will not see it.

MR. STANTON has been laboring in this State LECTURES AND DEBATES ON PEACE AND ABOLITION IN FREETOWN.

My BROTHER: I came here July 3d. In the even clime, has the same and equal rights by nature. That ON THE WANE. The friends of the slave in Windsor County, Vermont, have called a Convention to meet on the last Wednesday of this month, for the purpose of organizing a County Anti-Slavery Society. The following extract from the call is a specimen of the manner in which the 'Green Mountain Boys' take hold of the work: bloody and murderous systems, military and civil, built upon it. On the 5th. inst., at 5 P. M. another lecture in the Declaration of '76, and as it is guaranteed in the Constitution)—freedom of specific —and of the press—the right of freetoms of specific—and each of the press—the right of freetoms of specific and specific pressions. The protection of the specific pression of the specific pr Some active, spirit-stirring abolitionists here-some en-THE DEMOCRACY OF THE GREEN MOUNTAINS is of the ergetic, firm, unconquerable warriors in the cause of peace. Some most determined defenders of man-killing peace.

NANTUCKET LADIES A. S. SOCIETY.

The first annual meeting of the Ladies Anti-Slavery Since they are pledged to 'use all Constitutional ex-ertions' to abolish slavery, we take it for granted that they never will vote for Mr. Van Buren, who is pledged they never will vote for Mr. Van Buren, who is pledged to use his rete to revent the accomplishment of their to use his veto to prevent the accomplishment of their president; Anna Gardner Secretary; Alice H. Easton, wishes. They can not doubt that it will be strictly 'Con-Treasurer; Anna Austin, Eliza Nicholson, and Harri-Treasurer; Anna Austin, Eliza Nicholson, and Harristitutional' to vote against him. Nor can they consist-ently with either their political principles or the pledge which, after remarks from some ladies present, were unanimously adopted.

\$20 was taken up at the close of the meeting in support of the pledge of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery

> Per order of the society ANNA GARDNER, Store

NOTICES

PEACE CONVENTION.

A meeting of the friends of Peace was held in Boston May 30th, 1838. William Ladd, of Maine, was chosen Chairman, and Edward Noyes, of Boston, Secretary. It was voted that a Convention be called, before the close of the current year, of the friends of Peace throughout New England, for the purpose of having a free and full discussion of the principles of Peace, and of the measure best adapted to promote this holy cause; and that the time and place of the proposed Convention be designated by a Committee, appointed by this meeting. The following gentlemen were placed upon this Committee, viz: Rev. S. J. May, of South Scituate; Henry C. Wright, of Newburyport; Rev. George Trask, of Warren; Edmund Quincy, Esq., and Amasa Walker, Esq., of Boston.

WILLIAM LADD, Chairman

WILLIAM LADD, Chairman.

EDWARD NOYES, Secretary.
In pursuance of our appointment, we, the above-named Committee, have thought proper to invite, and we do hereby invite the friends of Peace, throughout New England, of every religious sect, of each political party, to meet in Conventiou in Boston, in the Marlburo Chapel, on the 18th day of September next, at 10 clock, A. M. It would be impracticable, if not improper to prescribe beforehand the course which shall be taken by the Convention. A number of deeply interesting radical questions will be presented for consideration and debate. What shall be the result we leave to be seen hereafter. Our purpose and our endeavor will be to have the subject of Peace searched to the bottom; that we may ascertain, if we can, whether defensive war, any more than offensive, is consistent with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel. Great differences of opinion exist among the avowed followers of Christ, respecting the extent to which our Lord and his apostles inculcate submission to mjuries; whether, in any case, they do or do not permit a resort to violence; whether any cause of us crest, however important, or any life, however /aluable, may or may not, on christian principles, be defended by the infliction of death or any other injury upon an adest, however important, or any life, however zaluable, may or may not, on christian principles, be defended ly the infliction of death or any other injury upon an adversary. We propose not to evade any question that may be found incidental to the decision of this one, namely; how is the evil that is in the world to be overcome? By violence, or by love, forbearance, forgiveness, long suffering, self-sacriface? We wish this momentous question, and all its connexious, should follow the light of the Sun of Righ cousness, and that all who profess to be the children of that light should follow withersoever it may lead.

should follow withersoever it may lead.

We carnestly invite as many as have thought upon this subject, to meet at the time and place before men-tioned, that they may assist and be assisted, to the right conclusions. And may every one be quickened to live and act, under all circumstances, in a manner more worthy of the Christian faith.

SAMUEL J. MAY, HENRY C. WRIGHT, GEORGE TRASK, EDMUND QUINCY, AMASA WALKER,

The Annual Meeting of the Connecticut State Temperance Society of Colored Americans, will be held in the city of New Haven, on the 25th. of Sept., 1838. The auxiliary societies are requested to send delegates. All the Presidents and Secretaries of all local societies are invited to attend, and all others who are willing to act up to the pledge of entire abstinence from all that can intoxicate.

HENRY FOSTER, Pres.

In intoxicate.
LEVERETT C. BEMAN, Sec.
Middletown, July 24th, 1838.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY A. S. SOCIETY.

The Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society will hold its next quarterly meeting at LITTLETON, on TUES-DAY the 21st day of AUGUST, at ten o'clock in the morning. It is expected that the meeting will continue two days, and that it will be attended by several gentle-men from abroad.

men from abroad.

As important business will come before the society, it is hoped that all the town societies will be represented, and that the friends of the cause from every part of the County will be present.

Lowell, July 19th, 1838.

The Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society will hold their next quarterly meeting at the Rev. Dr. Ide's meeting house, Medway, on WEDNESDAY, AUG. 15th, at 10 oclock, A. M. Delegates from the several Societies in the county are respectfully invited; and all others interested in this blessed cause. The Board of Managers are requested to meet at 8 o'elock to attend to special business which may then be brought before them. D. SANFORD, Cor. Sec'y. Dorchester, July 17, 1838.

(F Wanted to hire, for six, twelve, or eighteen months, fifteen hundred dollars; for which good and ample security will be given. The money will be appropriated to the publication of several anti-slavery works, now out of print and greatly needed. Any individual having this sum, or a part of it, and disposed to part with it, on the above terms, will please address a line to Isaac Knapp, 25, Cornhill, Boston, Mass.

> 4TH OF JULY ADDRESS. ONLY 12 1-2 CENTS.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at 25, Cornhill, WM. LLOYD GARRISON'S Address, delivered at Marlboro Chapel, Boston, on the 4th of July. But a small edition

NAMES OF PUBLIC CHARACTERS, TO be seen in the MASSACHUSETTS REGISTER,

To be seen in the MASSACHUSETTS REGISTER, for 1838,—such as Judges, Governors, Justices, Companies, Attorneys, Sheriffs, Postmasters, Physicians, Military Officers, Ministers in every town, Literary men, Officers in Banks and Insurance Companies, Officers of the United States Government, Foreign Ministers, Consuls, &c. Army and Naval Officers, City Officers, &c. &c. &c. For sale by JAMES LORING, 132 Wangton shistreet. ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY.

The Executive Committee of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society, have opened a DEPOSITORY, at No. 7 Asylum street, where all the publications of the Amer-ican Anti-Slavery Society can be obtained, at the same prices as at New York. Orders from any part of the State, accompanied with

the cash, will receive prompt attention.
S. S. COWLES, Agent. Hartford, May 12, 1838.

THE MARTYR OF FREEDOM. JUST PUBLISHED and for sale at 25 Cornhill, A Discourse delivered at East Machias, November 30, and Machias, December 7, 1837.

Fool not; for all may have,
If they dare try, a glorious life or grave.

George Herbert.

By Thomas R. Stone, paster of a church in East
Machies, Me.

March 9.

FREEDOW'S ALARM

JUST RECEIVED at 25 Cornhill, price 12 1-2 cents,
'Freedom's alarm, or Lovejov's voice from the grave.
Words by Miss L. H. S. Music composed in eight parts, dedicated and presented to his bereaved family, by their sympathizing friend and servant, Rev. Jonathan Curtis. The profits arising from the sale of this work will be appropriated to the benefit of the family of the decemsed.'

NOTICE.

The Temperance House, 118, William Street, New-York, will be continued as usual, till the first of May, when it is expected it will be opened at 21, Beekman Street, where good accommodations for transient company shall be furnished, and the best vegetable and fruit diet New York affords, shall be provided.

ASEMATH NICHOLSON.
New York, March 19th, 1838.

AGENCY.

I. KNAPP, 25 Cornhill, is agent for all the publications of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The Quarterly Magazine will shortly be issued, in an enlarged form, at \$5.00 per year. The most popular writers in the Anti-Slavery cause are engaged as regular contributors to this work. The Quarterly, Human Rights, and Slaves' Friend, will be delivered from the office in Boston, free of postage, in any quantity, to those who pay in advance.

REV. MR. ALLEN'S SPEECH.

JUST PUBLISHED, and for sale at 25 Cornhill, by the hundred, dozen, or single copy, Rev. George Al-len's Speech before the Convention of Ministers, eldh at Worcester, Mass. January 15. JUST PUBLISHED,

A Letter from James Boyle to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, respecting the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, True Holiness, &c.; with a Preface, and lines on Christian Rest, by Mr. Garrison. For sale, by the hundred, dozen, or single, at 25 Cornhill.

MOSES THATCHER VS. PRESTON POND

REVIEW of the case of Rev. Moses Thatcher we Preston Pond, in charging the Plaintiff with the crime of Adultery: including letters of Mrs. Jerushs M Pond, the main witness in the Defence. For sale at 23, Corabill of the Policy of Mrs.

From the Emancipator. ODE FOR THE PIRST OF AUGUST, 1838.

To John Greenless Whitzers, the Tyrtaus of our half marfare; this Ode, commemorative of the triumph of principle in the British West Indies, is respectfully intribed.

Oh, reared upon the glorious sea,

That image of what man should be, So nobly great, so boldly free-Ye isles that gem the western wave,

Hesperian gardens of old song!

Though there the unfetter'd waters lave, And dash your palmy shores along; How long, amid your odorous groves, Where every radiant song-bird roves Those free-born echoes have been broken By the sob, and anguish token, By the groan, and deep, low prayer, Of the vengeance-seeker there

Think ye that it rose in vain, That wild-cry of Nature's pain, Like the bacchanal's loose cheer! Or the clanking of his chain, And his curse of tyrant-reign, Rose in God's all-tender ear; And up-called the hurricane, O'er the mountain and the plain. In its terrible career. With the dread tornado amain, The avenger of his tear.

Isles of beauty, isles of bloom, Isles of blossom-breathed perfume, Isles of glory, isles of paim, Isles of plenty, isles of balm, Gardens such as Eden's were; Lovely on the wave ye rest! Fable's islands of the blest Were scarce of you the harbinger!

Around, the sea-sent gales, that stir To fan away the tropic heat, Are as cooling, and as sweet, As the odors, that were air In Elysian gardens fair, For the happy that were there.

Lovely lands, if ye were given, Where eternal summer smiles, To mind, the mariner of heaven, Who beholds the happy isles, From the mast-head, or the sea, As his lone watch he beguiles With some song of ocean free; What a scorn the foe of Eden Long bath made you !- as he made Old Paradisc-while he did redden Gushing font and silver stream. Playing in the moon's white beam, With the blood of many a weeper, With the corse of many a sleeper, Gash'd with many a bitter thong ! Isles of Beauty, what a glory HE hath made you, who hath crushed The curst spoiler's head, all gory, For whose laugh those blood-founts gushed, In his triumph-years of wrong !

Fearful is the hurricane, In its horrid midnight reign, Where the sweet grove, and the forest, With wild crashes tell its coming; And its war-cry echoes screst Where the orange-we of is blooming But when last that tornade came. And, beneath the lightning flame, Ee'n the jungle's beasts were tame-I beheld, on one lone isle, The negro mother calmly smile; Though the day of doom seem'd near, And the tyrant quaked with fear.

She beheld in each red glare. That fell so fast, so fearful there, The answer of her long breathed prayer ! And when came at length the flash On her lord's devoted dwelling, And she heard, as fell the crash. Sounds of wo, and fearful yelling, On the troubled tempest swelling, Then arose her song of praise; And she bared a deep red gash,--"I'was all recking from the lash. And she laughed to see the blaze !

His dark eye on the billows glaring, How sighed e'en now you swarthy vassal Sighed to see you sail advancing, O'er the wave, an ocean castle, With streamer gay, and fairy tassal; For a vision so entrancing Ne'er to him had boded weal! -Wild as those free waters dancing Look once more ! and list the peal-Such as ne'er the sons of wassi

Vollied forth-which he hath given, Loud, long, and free as air to heaven The scented Indian gales are riven By a sound, unheard before : And the sun goes down at even.

By the bay's clear shining bosom, Neath the palm and orange blossom, Where the citron was perfuming, And all tropic flowerets blooming. Bent the Creole, in the morning, Her dark locks, in curls, adorning, O'er that Nature-polished mirror, Where, alas, there was no error. And she sigh'd her twin to mark. So beautiful-but ah! so dark

Her baby slumbered on the rushes-It was fair, but was a slave ; Merry as the morning thrushes, And begotten by it e brave ! But a tear of Nature gushes Her dark lash, and eye to lave ; For the Helot hue-oh God ! Floweth in that baby's blood!

But, beneath the moonlight's shining, When that morning sun had set, I could mark that creole, twining Her babe's brow, with fairy net With all flowers and odors met : And her voice was clearly singing, Like the mermaids o'er the sea; While afar free bells were ringing; Smile, poor baby, thou art free:

And, the Indian isles among, Echoed forth one joyous song; We are free as the proud water That along the sea-sand dasheth! And the Sen, God's image ! daughter, Joyous now, our green isle splasheth With free spray, where once he taught her Deep to lash, the isle that lasheth. low no more the lightning flasheth Terrible, but sent in vain:

And no more the rent earth gasheth, 'Neath the hell-born hurricane; An avenger, which we prayed Might no longer be delayed Rest ye tempests! or, afar, Tear the lands where tyrants are! Rend their heaven-affronting flags, On the breezes, into rags ! But, ye tempests, go your ways,

On the low isle, and the crags, On the strong rook, and the sea, Of old England, and the Free !

Queen of the Free! Like him who reigns, O'er the Universe enthroned, Thou hast Earth for thy domain By thy realms the world is zoned Never doth the day star set Wiere the f.e : thy name forget, Nover doth he rise, where day Is not welcome, 'neath thy sway For thy red, like his above,

Is a sceptre, now, of Love !!

Reign, oh reign, enthroned daughter Of Earth's noblest, fairest isle, That was born of the free water. Ocean not more free, the while! Like a star new-risen there On the mountide of her glory, Reign, oh reign, victorious fair, O'er the isles so fam'd in story, And, upon thy spotless pillow,

When thou sinkest sweet to rest, Sleep, for it is thornless all! And thy mercy o'er the billow, Hath, for many a sighing thrall, Bowing to the earth, unblest, Like the rush, or weeping willow, Giving cheering wine for gall, And the oil of joy, for sadness, And for sackcloth robes of gladness

And like summer lightning playing In the fair horizon, mild : With its thunders not affinying, That no longer rumble wild; Are the terrors of thy throne

Seen to calm, to cool, alone! Gleaming c'er the dark blue sea, With sounds of far-heard majesty, Thunders, that in anger hurled, Shake the sea, the Isles, the world, By thy virgin hand controlled, Grasped by England's lion bold. While afar .- the rule of love-Flies her olive-bearing dove! Dove of the Church, thy wing is free! Spotless, 'neath its shadows, be The blest fold of him, who sent The sweet plumes, like her's that went To the floating world of yore, And the dewy peace-branch bore ! And we hail the gorgeous day, When the chain is torn away, From the healing hand and heart, Not with freedom shout alone. And the jubil-trumpet blown, But with all sweet praise out-poured

And, amid the storied aisles, Of England's old Cathedral uiles. Let assembled choirs employ Cecelian's universe of joy, With holy diapason swell, This immortal praise to tell: Where now yet Te Deum rose, O'er Jehovah's vanquished foes, So energetic, so sublime! Be it like that glorious time, When beside the rod-son wave Sank like lead the Memphian brave, Gainst our God that daied to rave They were sunken in the sea, God had triumphed gloriously; And above his people's head, Beauteous was his smile, that led The column of his victory

To the poor's avenging Lord!

God's guiding star, to light the free! Note .- This ode must be considered retro

PEACE.

EXPLANATION OF JOHN 2: 15 .- To L. W. FALL RIVER, July 10th, 1838.

of L. W. asks, 'how can the above passage be of Christianity, of the peace and good order of made to harmonize with the literal exposition of society, must abandon that principle—for light Christ's precept, "Resist not evil?" The whole and darkness, sin and holiness, love and hate, passage is- When he had made a scourge of life and death, are not more opposite. So the small cords, he drove them all out of the tem- question at issue isple, and the sheep and the oxen; and poured out the changer's money, and overthrew the tables, and said to them that sold doves, take these things hence-make not my Father's house a house of merchandise.' See Man. 21, 12, 13. Mark 11: 15, 16, 17. Luke 19: 45, 46.

er designed or uctually used the scourge to whip any northern paper : the men. There were sheep and oxen in the the men. There were sneep and oxen in the temple. Whips are generally used to whip beasts, not men. If L. W. says Christ made the scourge to scourge the men—or that he actually scourged them with it, let him prove it. There is nothing in the passage to prove it. Even admitting that he 'drove' out the men—it. Even admitting that he 'drove' out the men—it. There is nothing in the passage to prove it. Even admitting that he 'drove' out the men—it. Even admitting that he 'drove' out the men—it. It is not the control of the contro

make his Father's house a den of thieves. (3) claims to be considered as good citizens and used it on them. I would enter my protest testimony of Christian fellowship and confidence against that picture in some children's books, from the Trac' Society at the price of only which represents Christ with a great whip cut-ting men over the head and shoulders. I be-would give a million a year, rather than lose it lieve it teaches a falsehood.

threatened or done to us-to our property, liber- - Emancipator. ty or life-to our friends or country-but to our fines, whips, prisons and death; by Pizarro, when ket and the sea shore were the he butchered several thousands of Peruvians be- and public debate-when Paul challenged the cause their Inca cast a monk's breviary on the Grecian philosophers on Mars Hill, and dispuground; by Charlemagne, when be converted the ted daily in the school of one Tyrannus. Germans with fire and sword; and by the Pa-pists, when they tortured and burnt men to by making its discussions too common—no cleanse the church of heresy. If it teaches re-sistance to evil at all—it teaches that the church is to be purified of soldiers, of slaveholders, thieves and robbers -of cheats, liars, adulterers, blasphemers, rum-sellers, and rum-drinkers,--by whips, scourges, swords and guns. Is L. W. prepared for this? Does he think it teaches di-

H. C. W. DISCRETIONARY POWER OVER LIFE. -TO A CONSERVATIVE.

FALL RIVER, JULY 12th, 1838. signing himself . A Conservative '-(a taking name in these times, by the by.) complains that I do not state the question at issue in the peace discussion fairly. He undertakes to expose the sophistry ' of my statement of the question DISCRETIONARY POWER OVER LIFE, on NO power. He says this is not the question—but this is—' Have individua's and society a right to defend themselves against the wrong

rectly or indirectly any such doctrine?

I know not what may be the question at issue in the mind of 'A Conservative;' but this is not

suffering and death on the evil doer. Property liberty and life are never to be defended taking, or endangering the life of the aggressor—by individuals or governments—the fundamental principle of all efficient efforts to promote peace. The contrary is the foundation principle of all war and slavery. There could be no war, no slavery, no anarchy, no bloodshed, on the non-man-killing principle. That life may be taken as a penalty for crime, or in self-defence, is the favorite doctrine of warriors. of tyrants, of slaveholders, of murderers, and pirates-the principle which has made the earth the great slaughter-house of the human race. The contrary principle never shed a drop of

Now suppose 'A Conservative' (not indeed of life, peace and order, but of the ferocious principle that it is right to 'kill, slay, and destroy,' in self-defence,) thinks it right for individuals and society to take life in self-defence. Somebody must say when, how, and in defence of what, life may be taken. He assumes the power of life and death over man. Who shall limit the exercise of this power? Who say when it may be exerted. I deny that God has told us for what individuals or society are to take life. 'A Conservative' will not, I presume, pretend that the Christian's only guide has determined the crimes or the acts for which life may be taken. It follows then, that this momentous question is to be scilled by man-that God has invested man with the tremendous power of life and death over man, and left it to his reason, conscience, judgment, or DISCRETION to say when how. and for what life may be taken. This is the ground taken by Blackstone, by every Constitugovernments. It was the principle on which the Pilgrims acted when in 1675 they passed the following order:

'It is ordered by the court that whosoever shall shoot off any gun on any necessary occasion, or at any off any gun on any necessary occasion, or at any game whatsoever, except at an Isotan or a worr,—shall forfeit five shillings for every such shot till further liberty be given.'—Laws of Plymouth Col. page 176.

Man, the image and representative of God on earth, classed with wolves, and made lawful game-to be shot down like a wolf, as man shall see fit!!

On this principle the Puritans acted, when in 1637, they butchered the Pequods-which is related by one in the following style. 'The number destroyed was about 400. It was a fearful sight to see them frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and the horrible scent thereof—but the victory seemed a SWEET SACRIFICE, and they gave the PRAISE THEREor to Goo.' For this horrible principle 'A Con-servative' pleads, when he pleads for the right to take life in self-defence, unless he will show that God has defined the limits of this dreadful power over life in the hand of man.

'A Conservative' indeed! but of a principle which has made this earth the charnel-house of a slaughtered race; which his plunged the naand conditional, or the contrary, according as the Peers tious, kingdons and governments of this world reject or pass the bill for unconditional abolition. into an ocean of blood. Against such a princi-ple, as a man and a Christian, I would in the name of God and humanity proclaim war-never-ending war-till the principle, and every blood-stained system built upon it, be destroyed. All Conservatives of this man-killing principle, MY BROTHER: - A writer over the signature must give up Christianity. All Conservatives

DISCRETIONARY POWER OVER LIFE,

No Power.

THE WAGES OF INIQUITY TO THE TREASURY Mark 11: 15, 16, 17. Luke 19: 45, 46.

Explanation.—L. W. takes for granted the very thing to be proved—i. e. that Christ eith- Christian Statesman. We have not seen it in

We observe with pleasure that the Rev. John C.

this is no evidence that he designed or used the John Smith,' or any other agent, to collect funds scourge for them. I deny that he struck the among the priests of Juggernaut, or even among men, or that he designed the scourge for them.

Again. Suppose L. W. reads the passage thus—He made a scourge of small cords and whole Christian world would have cried out at drove them all out of the temple, both the sheep the profanation. And yet we doubt not that and the oxen.' (1) The Greek particle admits of this translation. (2) The connexion demands contributed a still larger sum than \$2000, for it, for the men were in the temple after the that excellent institution,' if they could thereby sheep and oxen were driven out, and Christ have obtained an implied acquiescence of those told them to take these things away and not whom the Tract Society represents, in their The character of our Saviour and his whole good Christians as others. And certainly the deportment through life, forbid the supposition whippers of men and F women may well conthat he designed the scourge for the men, or sider it a cheap purchase to have gained such a But the day is not far distant, when they will Again. If the passage justifies resistance to find to their sadness, that the fellowship of the evil at all, it does not justify resistance to evil church for slavery is what money will not buy.

FREE DISCUSSION .- A late number of the RELIGION—to our GOD. Contempt of God.profanation of his holy name, desecration of his holy name, desecration of his holy temple, (if it can be found on earth,) are to cheering account of a public discussion between be resisted and punished by scourges, fetters, stocks, prisons, gallows, swords and guns. This was the construction put on this passage by our Puritan Fathers, when they punished Sabbath Founder held daily disputations with the scribes breaking, blaspheiny and contempt of God, with and Pharisees-when the syr agogues, the mardignity of the Christian ministry would suffer, by meekly instructing opposerseness lest the Holy Spirit should be grieved, or lest the piety of the true worshippers should te, the first moment the truths of relievapora gion should be treated as literal facts, and human beings encouraged to treat them as facts by making them the topics of free social discussion. When shall the infidelity, and error, and superstition, and impurity, and beathenism, of the United States of America be assailed by a band MY BROTHER: —A writer in the Liberator. Master and his apostles, shall invite free public discussion, and go out into the highways and hedges to carry on the moral warfare? Abolitionists have made a few experiments at discussion in respect to one of the giant sins of our land. Who will profit by the hint, and put on the whole armor of God, and go forth to the contest? We ought to have a good many teachers of resocie- ligion in this country, who are thoroughly educated' and trained for such public debates .-Friend of Man.

the question at issue with radical peace men—
i. e. true peace men. They do not doubt that
men have a right to defend themselves, their
property, liberty, lives, their fellow beings and
their religion. All men have a right to defend
themselves as individuals and communities. So
there is no question at issue on that point.
Peace men and men-killers perfectly agree as to
the right of self-defence.

But the means—here we are at issue. The
peace man says, suffer and die yourself, and
thus overcome evit. The war man says—inflict

Texas NOT ANNEXED! We congratulate the country
on the cheering fact, that Congress has adjourned with
out anexum Texas not annexum? We congratulate the country
on the cheering fact, that Congress has adjourned with
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We congratulate the country
on the cheering fact, that Congress has adjourned with
out anexum Texas to the United States. So far, so
of various sorts, may relieve the shell exist may say what he pleases, and editors,
of various sorts, may relieve the shell exist may say what he pleases, so defined the shell exist meximal exist.

The South loudly couplains, the Texan leg.
Islanter has attested, and the world knows, that Abolitionists, with the help of the equally villfied John Quinclass the shell exists and the world knows, that Abolitionists, with the help of the equally villfied John Quinclass the shell exists and the world knows, that Abolitionists, with the help of the equally villfied Joh TEXAS NOT ANNEXED! We congratulate the country

DOCTRINAL.

For the Liberator.

good, saints are the inconsistent ones. Their they sin with great frequency. We have reason holy exercises have such an effect upon their to believe that saints in this life have vastly more nsciences and hearts as to spoil them for the sinful than holy exercises. the only persons who have true happiness, skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted. thy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.'-4. 13) Being reviled, we bless; being perseia necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in abors, in watchings, in fastings; By pureness, by knowledge, by long suffering, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of hand and on the left, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report; as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as a lying, and, behold we live; as chastened, and

orne me a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth.' Real saints are very

these terms of discipleship, the primitive christ than others of similar capacities?

are ready to cry out from time to time, 'O after. wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me The holy exercises they have, exert a very duty.

son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chasten- nomians, who have rejected the true standard of what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? gether such a one as themselves in his moral yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness not enbraced all the essential rights of man, unto them which are exercised thereby. This Some have built their scheme of pretended pererrors and faults, especially their deceitful, is contrary to plain facts. Some have built a shameful and darling ones, and by giving the scheme of pretended perfection upon those texts proper advice, warning and reproof. When which assert that the Jewish ceremonial law, everity is called for, we ought to be severe, for and the rites peculiar to the Mosaic dispensa an apostle says, (Ti'us, 1. 13) 'Wherefore re- tion are abolished; and have inferred that the buke them sharply, that they may be sound in moral law of God which requires sinless perfecthe faith.' Again we read, (Lev. 19. 17) 'Thou tion, as in the two great commands in the deca-

shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not that the gospel standard of perfection is of a difsuffer sin upon him.' Reader, are you faithful ferent nature. But this is absurd, and contrary in this respect, or false?

and guilt. This is the most common ground on the same state of God with great which such schemes have been built. Some We commonly judge of moral con- have supposed there is a mysterious transfer of

not as man seeth, judges by a different standard, THOUGHTS ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION AND In his view, all the violations of divine laws,
IMPERFECTION.—No. 4. rights and relations are sins, and sins of the first Having considered the nature of the perfec-ion and imperfection of the saints in this life, sinned in a very aggravated manner against his will now conclude with several general ob-I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight.

1. Real saints are singular creatures. They viewed the outrage against his neighbor, as nogreatly differ from every body else—are unlike thing in comparison with the sin against God. the holy angels, unlike the fallen angels. They widely differ from unregenerate sinners, for us, are very numerous, and our obligations to they have some 'perfect love which casteth out him are very sacred and binding. His law has fear,' and which is 'the fulfilling of the law,' infinitely more authority to bind us to obedience and sinners have none. They are 'complete than any human law can have, and we are unin Christ,' and joint heirs with him to the der inexpressibly greater obligations to regard amazing treasures and blessedness of his heav- his feelings and wishes than those of our fellowenly kingdom, but sinuers are out of the ark of safety. In changing their principles and course of conduct, sinners are commonly much more inconsistent than saints—but in changing their affections from good to bad, and from bad to see that the saints are the inconsistent. Their they sin with great frequency. We have reason

pleasures, honors, friendship and customs of the world. Their sinful exercises greatly disturb their christian rest and enjoyment, and plunge against greater light than others. They have them into sorrow and shame, but still they are the only persons who have true happiness, lous light, and have 'a spiritual discerning of singular in making themselves 'of spiritual things' which others have not; for we no reputation' for Christ's and the gospel's sake; for, their good frames of mind have a surpris-they know not at what they stumble.' It is said ng effect upon their general course of conduct, of saints, For God, who commanded the light and lead them to expose, refute, and reprove to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our those popular errors and vices, and to enforce hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of his nd those self-denying truths which will glory in the face of Jesus Christ.' Again, 'Ye always bring obloquy and persecution. Witness the worthies spoken of in the 11th of Hebrews, who confessed they were pilgrims and duct, therefore, must be much more criminal in strangers on the earth'; and who were stoned, saints, according to Christ's maxim, 'This is the were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain condemnation that light has come into the

were sawn asunder, were tempted, were stain world, &c.
with the sword; they wandered about in sheep stains and gent skins heing destitute afflicted.
Saints violate more relations when they sin skins and goat skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. (Of whom the world was not worthy:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountainty:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountainty:) they wandered in deserts, and in mountainty: members of his spiritual body. As soon as these How singular were they? Said Paul, (1 Cor. relations are formed, new and corresponding obligations arise, which are violated whenever cuted, we suffer it; defamed, we entreat: we they sin against God or against Zion. The viare made as the filth of the world, and are the olation of these peculiar obligations greatly enoffscouring of all things unto this day.' Again hances their guilt. The sins of believers also (2 Cor. 6, 4) 'In much patience, in afflictions, involve a violation of promises, covenants, and voluntary obligations between them and God, which greatly increases the guilt of them. Saints enter into covenant with God at regeneration, and by uniting with the visible church, they enter into covenant with his people. The vows God, by the armor of righteousness on the right of God are upon them. These voluntary obligations render their sins acts of perfidy, treachery, and promise-breaking, which greatly aug-

ents the guilt of them. The sins of believers are more criminal in not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.' Such sin-gular creatures are the saints. The world can-trom death unto life—shed abroad his love in ot appreciate their motives and conduct, and their hearts-given them a new heart and a are ready to call them insane. Said Christ, if they have called the master of the house, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them fore the world began, and in fulfilling his gradely his household. of his household.' How singular was Jeremiah cious purpose, has made them new creatures. who said, 'Wo is me my mother, that thou hast and entitled them to all the glorious promises and provisions of the gospel. These acts of divine power and grace lay saints under peculiar obligations of gratitude, thankfulness and praise, singular in the practice of self-denial, as we obligations of gratitude, thankfulness and praise, may infer from these words of Christ. (Luke and render their sins against God far more crim-14) 'It any man come to me, and hate not his inal than others. What is baser, or more odious father, and mother, and wife, and children, and than ingratitude? And where can be found brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also be cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth lievers against God and his cause?

Now, if believers have far more sinful than not bear his cross and come after me, cannot be now, if believers have far more sinful than my disciple. So likewise whosever he be of holy affections—if they sin against superior you, that forsaketh not all that he hath, he can-not be my disciple.' (John 12, 25) 'He that more promises and covenants—and are guilty of loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth baser ingratitude than unbelievers, have we not his life in this world, shall keep it unto life good reasons to conclude that they are chargen-eternal.' Agreeably to the letter and spirit of ble with more criminality in the sight of God, tians who were christians indeed, sold their possessions, and disencumbered themselves from Timothy (1 Tim. 1. 15,) 'This is a faithful the world, and thus denied themselves to follow saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Christ. How singular were they. They were Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of equally singular in practising universal love to whom I am chief.' This idea is not at all in nemies, non-resistance towards injurers, and compatible with the fact that they have some in returning good for evil. Real saints are 'perfect love' which 'is the fulfilling of the law', singular in rejoicing in God and trusting in him and in which God delights. If 'to whom little in the darkest and most trying times. They are equally singular in mourning and sorrow-the peculiar guilt of saints, and corresponding ing in themselves for their sins and follies, divine forgiveness towards them, may be the oc-

heir sins are such a burden to them that they casion of their loving and enjoying much here 4. If the character of saints has been truly from the body of this death.' The lives of delineated, according to the law and the testisaints are a chequered scene of sinning and re- mony, then it is believed the schemes of human penting, of obeying and disobeying God and his perfectibility, as advocated by those persons aw, of trusting and distrusting, submitting and called 'Perfectionists,' cannot be maintained. rebelling. Though they often sin, yet the world There can be no doubt that permanent sinless is tormented with the doctrines they believe perfection, as required in the law of God, and teach, and with the duties they perform. plain, practicable, imperious and most delightful But it is a plain matter of fact that the powerful influence upon their general character most eminent patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and and conduct, and prevent them from forming primitive christians, did not attain to such a state. and executing those plans and enterprises of in- It is evident that Paul did not attain to such a justice, cruelty, oppression and wickedness state, and who can believe that modern (so callwhich others often adopt; and prevent them ed) Perfectionists are more holy than the great rom boasting and praising themselves, and de- and successful apostle to the Gentiles? It is evlying and covering their sins as others do. ident that Job did not attain to such a state, and They prevent them from living in those prac- who can believe that modern professed perfecknown and obvious sin which are in-tionists are more righteous than the devout patompatible with the life of a real saint. Still riarch of Uz? It appears that Daniel did not hey often backslide from holiness, forsake the attain to such a state, but confessed his own, as narrow way of self-denial, and fall like Peter well as his people's sins, and who can believe and like him repent. These, it is believed, are that those who think themselves perfect, are ome of the singularities of the real saints of more beloved in heaven than Daniel? I should God, as described in the bible. Reader, have greatly rejoice to see persons giving good eviyou these marks of discipleship? Have you dence of having attained a permanent state of any of these singular features of the saints sinless perfection. But I fear those who imagstrongly developed? Search and see. ine they have attained such a state, are in great 2. If the true character of saints has been danger of thinking more highly of themselves, ustly described, it is of very great importance than they ought to think. I also fear that they for christians to tell each other their faults, and have mistaken or perverted the true and only

give the proper reproof and admonition. Though standard of moral perfection, and are building God considers his saints to be his jewels, and their houses upon the saud. There have been delights in their perfections, yet he sees much believers in human perfectibility among differin them to blame and to chastise. Accordingly an apostle says, (Heb. 12.5) My son, despise manifested gross ignorance of the true character thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint ter and law of God as revealed in the Bible, and when thou art rebuked of him: For whom the as demonstrable from reason. They have com-Lord leveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every monly been either theoretical or practical Antig. God dealeth with you as with sons, for moral conduct, and thought that God was alto-Now no chastening for the present seemeth joy- character. Their scheme has not included the ous but grievous: nevertheless afterward it essential rights and prerogatives of God, and has discipline is to correct their errors and sins. fection on those passages of scripture which as-And in no hing can saints more effectually be sert that saints do not and cannot sin, while laborers together with God,' and profit each obeying God and his law, and vainly concluded ther, than by plainly telling each other their that none ever sin after sanctification. But this this respect, or false?

If the character of saints has been justly deSome have seized hold of that class of texts If the character of saints has been justify de-lineated, have we not reason to believe that, in which assert the believes are complete in the sight of God, they are in general more crim-the sight of God, they are in general more crim-the sight of God, they are in general more criminal than others of similar capacities. This may have fondly and vainly imagined that being thus be a paradox, and strike some minds as absurd complete in Christ, involves freedom from sin

and guilt. This is the most common ground on

duct by human laws, customs, rights, relations, prejudices and feelings. But God who 'seeth their sins to him, so that they have their sins to him, so that they become immach late. But such a transfer is impossible in the nature of things. Every effort to prove the per-manent sinless perfection of saints, as being in Christ, or united with him, is completely refued by one plain fact-God chastises all children for their sins. (Heb. 12, 8.) be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sona Though believers in Christ are free from the threatenings of the law of God; are free condemnation, and not bound to abide by the legal method of justification, but are u grace, it does not follow from this that they are not bound by the precepts of God's moral law which is the true, and only true standard moral perfection. Such a view of the gospe as rejects the moral law of God in its true and proper extent, as the only rule of duty, and san dard of moral conduct, makes Christ the minis. ter of sin, and subverts the foundation of true ter of sin, and subsection of true religion and righteousness. Though saints can truly say that 'their old man is crucified with Christ,' and that all their hopes of salvation, on the ground of works are perished, it does not follow from this, or from any other part of the true gospel, that saints are so dead to selfishmen and to the world, as to be established in a per nament state of sinless perfection.

Ever since the fa.l, the carnal minds of men have been 'enmity against God, not subject this law, neither indeed can be,' And make tudes have tried in various ways, to explain the gospel so as to reject the holy law of God as the rue and only standard of moral perfection, and rule of duty. But all such efforts are perfevain. God's moral law is founded in the mutable nature and relation of things, and no more cease to bind men's consciences, the they can cease to exist. And every ground on which a scheme of human perfectibility has been built, which excludes God's law as the true and only standard of moral conduct, is 'like the base, less fabric of a vision. It is difficult to conceive a more unscriptural, delu-ive and visionary to-tion than the scheme of Christian perfectibility. advocated by professed Perfectionists, since



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